Group members reflecting on intergroup relations

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GROUP MEMBERS
REFLECTING ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS

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VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT

GROUP MEMBERS
REFLECTING ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS

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de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam,
op gezag van de rector magnificus
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in het openbaar te verdedigen
ten overstaan van de promotiecommissie
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door

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geboren te Hilversum

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- CHAPTER 1 -

Introduction

People generally want to be part of highly valued groups. This provides them with a positive social identity, which makes them feel good about themselves (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner, 1999; Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Perhaps the best way to increase the social standing of one's group is to stand out, as a group, as much as possible against a relevant other group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Fellow ingroup members who behave according to common norms of good behaviour contribute to the ingroup's positive distinctiveness, thereby boosting the group's social standing (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). Fellow group members who do *not* behave in accordance with general norms of good behaviour undermine the ingroup's positive distinctiveness (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000), thereby indirectly enhancing the social standing of relevant other groups. Following the same rationale, a member of a relevant other group who behaves against what are considered norms of good behaviour undermines the standing of his/her group (i.e., the outgroup), thereby indirectly enhancing the standing of the ingroup (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998). 'Good' ingroup members and 'bad' outgroup members may thus, directly or indirectly, promote the ingroup's social standing.

Much is already known about people's striving for a positive social identity, their attempts to positively differentiate their ingroup from relevant outgroups, and the evaluation of ingroup and outgroup members who facilitate or challenge the ingroup's positive standing (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner, 1999; Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Turner, et al., 1987; Hogg, 1992; Jetten, Spears & Manstead, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 1999, 2001; Hornsey, Oppes, & Svensson, 2002; Hornsey & Imani, 2004; Hornsey, de Bruin, Creed, Allen, Ariyanto, & Svensson, 2005; Spears, Oakes, Ellemers, & Haslam, 1997; Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988; Marques & Paez, 1994). The aim of this thesis is to focus on some specific research questions that have so far remained relatively underexposed, and to more fully examine how attributes and behaviours of both ingroup and outgroup members may affect a group's capacity to positively distinguish itself from a relevant outgroup. More specifically, in this thesis it will be examined to what extent a salient intergroup context affects the degree to which certain attributes (e.g., being a typical group member, highly contributing to the group) are valued in fellow ingroup members. We will also investigate how the reaction of an outgroup to a

transgressing typical or a nontypical outgroup member affects the way this outgroup is evaluated. Finally, we will examine how ingroup status affects whether or not fellow ingroup members are informed about damaging information about a relevant outgroup. This first chapter provides an overview of relevant literature and an outline of the three empirical chapters of this thesis. A few practical examples will be provided to illustrate how groups generally try to portray themselves in the most favourable way, and how both in- and outgroup members can affect the intergroup relation for the benefit of the ingroup.

For most people, it is of great importance to be a member of a highly valued group - preferably of a group that is *better* than other groups. People want to feel good about their group and their fellow group members, and are motivated to depict their group a positive way. Individual group members who engage in creditable behaviour may contribute to the standing of the group as a whole, and are likely to be cheered upon by their fellow group members. For example, Dutch athletes who win a medal on an international competition are officially awarded a decoration by the Dutch queen, usually followed by a homage by the Dutch population, and a lap of honour in the athlete's place of residence.

The positive reflection of a single outstanding group member on his of her group can also be used in a strategic way. Groups and organizations often attempt to portray themselves in a positive way by actively linking their names to people who strongly embody the identity the organization is aiming for. To illustrate, manufacturers often aim for their products to be recommended by well known people who strongly embody the product's identity (e.g., a Formula 1 racing car driver promoting a car or watch brand, or a beauty model promoting cosmetic products). In the same vein, celebrities are often recruited to publicly serve as ambassadors for (charitable) organizations. Examples of world wide known ambassadors are Bono for War Child, Angelina Jolie for UNICEF, and Nelson Mandela for Red Cross. Examples of well-known Dutch ambassadors are Floortje Dessing for Max Havelaar and Chris Zegers for Monkey Business. By actively associating themselves with people who possess valued characteristics like trustworthiness or social engagement, the organizations aim to be perceived in the light of these characteristics.

In the same vein the association with respected individuals may provide a group with a positive image, the association with *undesirable* individuals readily *harms* the positive standing of a group. People are clearly aware of the fact that their group's being associated with controversial persons, may be damaging to their group's image. To

illustrate - at the time, Pope Benedict XVI's remission of Bishop Williamson's excommunication (from the Roman Catholic Church, in 1988) encountered quite some opposition among the Catholic community, since the remission coincided with Williamson's denying the Holocaust. Catholics reasoned that this confluence of events would create the impression that the Catholic church as a whole shared Williamsons opinion.

Another -slightly hilarious- example of how a group can suffer from one 'bad apple' is the caricatural Borat Sagdiyev - a fictional Kazakhstani journalist portrayed by British comedian Sacha Boran Cohen. The 2006 movie *'Borat: Cultural Learnings of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan'* follows Borat in his travels across the United States, exhibiting the so-called Kazakhstani culture and traditions. The Kazakhstani government reacted to the movie by openly distancing itself from the image of Kazakhstan as created by Baron Cohen: In a four-page advertisement in The New York Times, it was stressed that Kazakhstani women *are* allowed to drive cars, gays are *not* forced to wear blue helmets, and the national beverage is *not* fermented horse urine. Minister Aliyev of Kazakhstan officially stated that, by means of the advertisement, all worldwide misconceptions about Kazakhstani culture would hopefully be cleared up. In addition, Borat was invited over to Kazakhstan, to see for himself that the Kazakhstani inhabitants are perfectly normal. The examples of Bishop Williamson and Borat illustrate that groups are well aware of the fact that undesirable characteristics of certain individuals readily spill over to the image of the group as a whole.

Some examples from the past few years show that groups adopt various courses of action in dealing with members who put the ingroup in an unfavourable light. One way of trying to regain a positive group image by counteracting the association of the 'bad' member and the group is by *apologizing*, as a group, for this member. Forcing the member to apologize him/herself is another option. Late 2007 for example, Henk Kessler (i.e., the director of Dutch professional soccer of the Royal Dutch Soccer Federation [KNVB]) publicly labelled demonstrating police(wo)man and members of the police union 'spoiled little guys'. In an official reaction, Sprengers (i.e., the president of the KNVB) stated that this utterance had caused severe damage to the image of the KNVB as a societal institution, and that he expected Kessler to apologize himself. Indeed, not much later Kessler openly apologized for his remark and stressed the fact that, throughout the years, the soccer federation had always pleasantly collaborated with the police.

Another way by which a group can attempt to undo the association with a transgressing group member, is by openly *distancing* itself from the wrongdoing. By publicly speaking out that the group and its members disapprove of the offence, the group's positive image might be repaired or remain unharmed. In the case of Bishop Williamson for example, lots of (Dutch and German) Catholic bishops immediately dissociated from Williamson's assertion. Not much later, Pope Benedict XVI also distanced himself by officially stating that he had not been aware of Williamson's assertion, and by expressing his unquestionable solidarity with the Jewish people.

One step beyond distancing the group from the behaviour of a negative deviant group member, is to actually *exclude* this transgressor from the group. By breaking off all ties, any spill over of negative characteristics of the transgressor to the group may be counteracted, clearing the group's image. An example everybody knows is the impeachment procedure against former US president Bill Clinton, following his sexual escapades with Monica Lewinsky - a trainee at the White House. Quite some Americans no longer wished to be represented by someone who had obviously misused his power, lacked general family values by cheating on his wife, and who -on top of it all- had blatantly lied about it (*"I did not have sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky."*). Eventually, the case blew over: Clinton admitted that he had been wrong, excused himself, and was allowed to stay on.

In general, people anxiously try to guard the positive image of their own group, and therefore do not tolerate ingroup members who jeopardize this. Outside observers however, are usually less affected by it: As long as one's own group does not suffer any harm, one will not worry very much about norm breaking outgroup members. It may very well even work the other way around; observing another group struggling with rule breaking members easily elicits feelings of schadenfreude. To illustrate - at the time, most people outside America indeed had clear and varied opinions on whether or not Bill Clinton should stay on, but the result of the impeachment procedure would have never directly affected their social identities. It might be for this reason that the majority of the world eventually watched the 'Lewinsky-gate' with even a slight overtone of amusement. The same held for the matter concerning Borat: Only the Kazakhstani (i.e., subject of the satire) worried about the way Baron Cohen depicted their country and culture. The rest of the world massively made their way to the cinemas, and the movie ended up being nominated for an Oscar.

1.1 Theoretical Background

For most people, it is of great importance that the groups to which they belong are portrayed in a favourable way, and that no association between their group and transgressing, or otherwise norm breaking, behaviour exists. Why exactly is it so important to people to be part of highly valued groups? According to two fundamental and influential theoretical frameworks within social psychology (i.e., Social Identity Theory; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner, 1999; Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Self-Categorization Theory; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) people, as individuals, aim for a positive self-concept - they simply want to feel good about themselves. People generally belong to a variety of social categories (e.g., women, scientists, homosexuals, vegetarians, soccer fans), and the way these groups are evaluated (i.e., favourably or unfavourably) directly reflects on their self-esteem (Oakes & Turner, 1980; Lemyre & Smith, 1985). Being a member of a group that is consensually evaluated in a favourable way *boosts* someone's social identity, making him/her feel good about him/herself. Membership of a group that is consensually evaluated in an unfavourable way, on the other hand, *undermines* someone's social identity, making him/her not feel good about him/herself. In their need for a positive self-concept, people thus strive to be part of positively valued groups, as this provides them with a positive social identity.

The best way to realize a positive social identity is through *positive intergroup differentiation*. As Tajfel and Turner (1986, p.16) stated: *"Positive social identity is based to a large extent on favorable comparisons that can be made between the in-group and some relevant out-groups: the in-group must be perceived as positively differentiated or distinct from the relevant out-groups"*. To be able to evaluate one's own group in a favourable way, people thus try to stand out, as a group, as much as possible against relevant outgroups. People's ability to upgrade their group by differentiating from another group requires a social situation in which a *relevant comparison group* is present, as well as a *meaningful dimension* on which the groups can compare themselves.

Another condition that has to be met in order to derive a positive social identity from positive intergroup differentiation, is that one sufficiently *identifies* with the ingroup, or put differently: one should have sufficiently internalized group membership as an aspect of one's self-concept (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The more people identify with a group, the more they are affected by group based information, and the more likely they will be to engage in behaviour that serves the group as a whole (Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1999). People to whom their group membership is very important (i.e., highly identifying group

members) in particular, will thus be motivated to portray their ingroup in the most favourable way vis-à-vis relevant outgroups, and will be particularly likely to derive a positive social identity from this intergroup comparison. Or, as Jetten, McAuliffe, Hornsey, and Hogg (2006, p. 825-826) put it: *"The more group members categorise themselves as group members, the more group members are motivated to seek positive distinctiveness"*.

A powerful way of differentiating between one's own group and a relevant outgroup, is to stress the importance of ingroup norms, which represent the behaviours or features that members should adopt and that maintain distinctiveness from the outgroup (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Members who do not adhere to broad societal codes, or violate specific group norms, are termed *deviants* (Hornsey, Jetten, McAuliffe, & Hogg, 2006). The association of one's group with *norm violating* or *deviant* members is particularly damaging, since it threatens the ingroup's image, and thereby its relative standing (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). Van Leeuwen, van den Bosch, Castano, and Hopman (2009) for example demonstrated that, unless a group explicitly distances itself from a negative deviant member, the group is readily perceived in terms of this member's negative characteristics.

People who do not behave in accordance with the ingroup's norms threaten the ingroup's positive distinctiveness, and consequentially are downgraded by their fellow group members (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Dougill, 2002; Matheson, Cole, and Majka, 2003). Literature on the *Black Sheep Effect* (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Lyens, 1988; for a review, see Marques & Paez, 1994) demonstrates that people even evaluate unlikeable ingroup members more negatively than equally unlikeable outgroup members. Van Prooijen (2006) showed that, in case of indisputable guilt, people display more severe retributive reactions to ingroup offenders than to outgroup offenders. These more extreme reactions to (unlikeable) ingroup members stem from the fact that negative deviant members contribute to the group's social identity in a negative way, and derogation of these members aims to sustain a positive image of the ingroup (Marques, Abrams, & Serôdio, 2001). As Branscombe, Wann, Noel, and Coleman (1993, p. 386) put it: *"Among persons who care a great deal about the group membership at stake, a disloyal in-group member represents a threat to that identity and must be rejected to protect or bolster the value of that social identity"*. Especially people who highly care for their group membership have a relatively negative attitude towards ingroup members who deviate from ingroup norms in a negative way (Hutchison & Abrams, 2003), are prone to experience negativity when confronted with

these kinds of social identity threats (Dietz-Uhler, 1999), and are likely to react in defensive ways (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999).

As negative deviants undermine the ingroup's norms, and thereby its potential to positively distinguish itself from relevant outgroups, members who *do* behave according to the ingroup's norms strongly promote positive intergroup distinctiveness. Literature on the Black Sheep Effect (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Lyens, 1988; Marques & Paez, 1994) demonstrates that ingroup members who behave according to the ingroup's norms are evaluated in a positive way - even more positively than outgroup members who behave similarly. Members who endorse ingroup norms bolster the group's social identity, making them being liked by their fellow members (Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998).

Typical group members are the perfect embodiment of everything a group stands for - they accurately represent the group's identity in terms of attributes and characteristics (Jetten, 2006). Hogg (1992, 1993, 2001a, 2001b) showed that prototypical members (i.e., members who possess characteristics that are typical for the group and simultaneously contribute to maximum intergroup differentiation) strongly propagate a group's image. Typical members generally establish group norms because, as a group prototype, they *"(...) define and prescribe attitudes, feelings, and behaviours that characterize one group and distinguish it from other groups (...)"* (Hogg, 2001a, p. 6), and thereby facilitate positive intergroup differentiation. Typical group members thus help to accentuate similarities within, and differences between the ingroup and the outgroup.

Schmitt and Branscombe (2001) demonstrated a tendency for people who strongly identify with their group to like typical ingroup members more than nontypical ingroup members, as these typical fellow members *"(...) help to maintain the distinction between their own group and relevant outgroups (...)"* (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001, p. 516). To illustrate, groups and companies often aim to communicate their image by actively and explicitly associating themselves with people who possess certain characteristics, thereby embodying the identity the organization aims for. Manufacturers for example, often aim for their products to be recommended by celebrities who strongly embody the product's identity (e.g., well-known [male] athletes promoting a shaving brand, or a diet guru recommending health nutrition products). In the same vein, generally respected celebrities are often recruited to publicly serve as ambassadors for (charitable) organizations. Members who strongly embody a group's identity and everything a group stands for, are thus of great value to a group. As a result, highly typical group members

are liked more than less typical group members, as the former confirm *" (...) the clarity and meaningfulness of the existing categorization (...)"* (Hogg, 1992, p. 104).

As substantiated in the previous, intergroup competition easily stems from the mere psychological need to distinguish one's group from relevant other groups, to define one's group's position in relation to relevant other groups, and to be evaluated -as a group- in a favourable way. The striving for a positive social identity can thus, in itself, be sufficient to create intergroup rivalry (Tajfel, 1982). Especially when the intergroup competition is predominantly *psychological* or *symbolic* in nature and the group's major goal is to communicate and underline its unique identity, typical group members may optimally contribute to intergroup distinctiveness. When the intergroup competition is predominantly *realistic* in nature and the group's major goal is the achievement of tangible goals (such as monetary or material profit), member characteristics and behaviours that directly facilitate the attainment of an instrumental goal (i.e., providing the group with means, knowledge, and/or manpower) will efficiently serve positive intergroup distinctiveness. The specific nature of the intergroup competition (i.e., symbolic vs. realistic) thus largely determines what specific member attributes (i.e., typicality or contribution, respectively) add most to a positive social identity.

Scheepers and colleagues (Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2002, 2003, 2006) demonstrated that intergroup differentiation can indeed serve two rather distinct functions. It can serve an *instrumental* function (e.g., winning a monetary prize) but, when it is directed at *"(...) creating, expressing, and thereby confirming a sense of group identity (...)"* (Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2006, p. 944), intergroup differentiation is mainly serving an *identity confirming* function. The authors state that the striving for intergroup differentiation can manifest itself in a number of ways and, though both functions can to some degree be served by these various forms of differentiation, Scheepers and colleagues underline the connection of certain functions and forms of intergroup differentiation. According to them, the instrumental function (e.g., winning a soccer game) is generally better served by instrumental forms of differentiation (e.g., scoring goals), whereas the identity confirming function (e.g., promoting one's favourite soccer team) is generally better served by symbolic forms of differentiation (e.g., chanting the soccer team's anthem).

Tajfel and Turner (1979, p. 16) stated that the evaluation of a group is largely determined with reference to relevant other groups. As the authors put it: *"The evaluation of one's own group is determined with reference to specific other groups through social comparisons in terms of value-laden attributes and characteristics.*

Positively discrepant comparisons between in-group and out-group produce high prestige; negatively discrepant comparisons between in-group and out-group result in low prestige." As a consequence, one would not only expect 'good' ingroup members to boost the ingroup's relative standing by reflecting *positively* on the *ingroup*, but one would also expect 'bad' outgroup members to boost the ingroup's relative standing by reflecting *negatively* on the *outgroup*. In other words: In the same vein as the association of one's ingroup with positively laden attributes and characteristics leads to an enhanced ingroup prestige vis-à-vis a relevant outgroup, the association of this outgroup with negatively laden attributes and characteristics leads to an enhanced ingroup prestige when comparing with this outgroup.

The notion that negative information about a relevant outgroup may enhance the ingroup's relative standing is supported by the finding that outgroup members who undermine the positive distinctiveness of the outgroup are evaluated more positively than outgroup members who promote the outgroup's positive distinctiveness (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998). Research on schadenfreude (Leach, Spears, Branscombe, & Doosje, 2003; Spears & Leach, 2004; Leach & Spears, 2008) shows that people tend to enjoy the misfortune suffered by an outgroup - especially in domains important to group identity. Research on gossip furthermore shows that people tend to enjoy, and share, negative information about rival others (McAndrew, Bell, & Garcia, 2007), and even actively seek exploitable, damaging information about non-allies (McAndrew & Milenkovic, 2002). According to these authors, negative talk about others may serve both the interests of individuals and groups. In their striving for positive distinctiveness, groups can thus benefit from outgroups that are portrayed in an unfavourable way (Tajfel, 1982).

The tendency to enjoy negative information about a relevant outgroup is particularly pronounced among people who's social identity is at stake. Research has shown that when people feel that their group is threatened by another group in a domain relevant to its social identity, they are likely to enjoy possible misfortune suffered by that outgroup (Leach et al., 2003; Spears & Leach, 2004; Leach & Spears, 2008). When another group represents an esteem threat to an important identity, actively portraying that group in an unfavourable light may be a successful strategy by which group members repair their damaged self-esteem, according to Branscombe and Wann (1992, 1994). Florack, Scarabis, and Gosejohann (2005) showed that highly identifying group members repair damage to their self-esteem by adopting a negative attitude towards a relevant outgroup. Furthermore, McAndrew and colleagues (McAndrew & Milenkovic, 2002; McAndrew, Bell, & Garcia, 2007) demonstrated that gossip about rivalling others

serves as a status-enhancing mechanism in social competition and that, in their search for gossip, people particularly focus on high status others. Depressed social self-esteem can thus motivate discrimination (Hogg & Sunderland, 1991), and successful outgroup discrimination proves to be an effective tool to boost or repair the social identity of one's group (Oakes & Turner, 1980; Lemyre & Smith, 1985).

1.2 The Current Thesis

The aim of this thesis is to more fully examine how attributes and behaviours of both ingroup and outgroup members affect a group's capacity to positively distinguish itself from a relevant outgroup. Much is already known about people's striving for a positive social identity, their attempts to positively differentiate their ingroup from relevant outgroups, and their evaluations of ingroup and outgroup members who facilitate or challenge the ingroup's positive standing. Nonetheless, so far, some specific and interesting research questions have remained relatively underexposed. To what extent does the (non)instrumentality of a salient intergroup context affect the degree to which certain attributes (e.g., being typical for the group, highly contributing to the group) are valued in fellow ingroup members? How does the reaction of an outgroup to a transgressing typical or a nontypical outgroup member affect the way this outgroup is evaluated? And does ingroup status affect whether or not damaging information about a relevant outgroup is initially shared with fellow ingroup members? To get more insight into these particular questions, a number of studies were conducted and are reported in the current thesis. The studies, that are subdivided in three empirical chapters, will be discussed into more detail in the following.

1.2.1 Chapter 2 - What Have You Done For Us Lately? How Member Typicality, Member Contribution and Context Affect Perceived Member Suitability to Represent the Group

Chapter 2 elaborates on earlier research on member position and member contribution, and examines how, within a salient intergroup context, these factors above and beyond each other affect how valuable someone is considered to be for his/her group. Two studies were conducted. The aim of the first study was to investigate whether, within a salient intergroup context, a member's position within the group (typical vs. nontypical) and his/her prior contribution to the group (in terms of effort and/or money; high vs. low) each and independently affect how valuable s/he is considered to be for his/her group, and whether this perceived value in turn affects how much fellow group

members like this person and how suitable they consider him/her as a group representative. To test this, participants were led to believe that the performance of their ingroup on a series of tasks would be directly compared to the performance of a rivalling outgroup. During the course of the experiment, participants were presented with information on a fellow ingroup member's position within the ingroup (typical vs. nontypical) and his/her prior contribution to the ingroup (low vs. high). The main dependent variables were the degree to which fellow group members considered this person to be of value to the group, the degree to which they liked him/her, and the degree to which they considered him/her a suitable group representative. Since typical members are generally better capable to facilitate positive intergroup differentiation than nontypical members, it was expected that a typical group member would be considered to be of greater value to the group, would be liked more, and would be considered a more suitable group representative than a nontypical group member. Since highly contributing members are generally better capable to facilitate positive intergroup differentiation than poorly contributing members, it was also expected that a group member who had contributed much to the group would be considered to be of a greater value to the group, would be liked more, and would be considered a more suitable group representative than a group member who had not contributed much to the group.

The second study extended the first study by adding *specific (inter)group goals* as a third variable. Intergroup differentiation can serve a predominantly *instrumental* function, but also a predominantly *identity confirming* or *noninstrumental* function. The instrumental function (e.g., winning a soccer game) is generally better served by instrumental forms of differentiation (e.g., scoring goals), whereas the identity confirming function (e.g., promoting one's favourite soccer team) is generally better served by symbolic forms of differentiation (e.g., chanting the soccer team's anthem). It was therefore hypothesized that the greater perceived value, higher perceived suitability and more conclusive selection of a typical (vs. a nontypical) group member as a group representative would be more pronounced on a *noninstrumental* task than on an *instrumental* task. It was also hypothesized that the greater perceived value, higher perceived suitability and more conclusive selection of a highly (vs. a poorly) contributing group member as a group representative would be more pronounced on an *instrumental* than a *noninstrumental* task.

1.2.2 Chapter 3 - To Benefit from a Bad Apple: Typicality of a Transgressing Outgroup Member Moderates the Effect of Outgroup Reaction on General Outgroup Evaluation

In Chapter 3, the main assumption that was validated across three studies was that a transgressor's position within the outgroup (i.e., typical vs. nontypical) and the outgroup's reaction to this transgressor (i.e., approval vs. disapproval) together affect the way people evaluate this outgroup. In the first two studies, participants were presented with a news article which described a competition between an ingroup and an outgroup. People read about a transgressing outgroup member (typical or nontypical) whose behaviour was subsequently approved or disapproved of by his group. The main dependent variable was how participants generally felt about this outgroup. It was expected that transgressor position (typical vs. nontypical) would moderate the effect of outgroup reaction (approval vs. disapproval) on the way participants felt about this outgroup. Specifically, we expected that participants would evaluate this outgroup in a more positive way if this outgroup had approved of a transgressing *typical* member than if outgroup had disapproved of him, since the presence of a transgressing typical member within the outgroup contributes to positive intergroup differentiation. *Nontypical* outgroup transgressors, on the other hand, are less able to contribute to positive intergroup differentiation, which gave rise to our expectation that outgroup reaction to a transgressing nontypical outgroup member (compared to a transgressing typical outgroup member) would have a less distinct effect on the way participants felt about this outgroup.

In the third study, the design of the first two studies was extended by systematically varying the group membership (i.e., ingroup vs. outgroup) of the transgressor. We reasoned that if the association of a relevant outgroup with norm-breaking behaviour positively affects the relative standing of one's group, resulting in a positive evaluation of this outgroup, then one would expect the opposite to occur when the transgression is committed by a member of the *ingroup*. That is, the presence of a transgressing typical member within the *own* group should have a negative effect on the ingroup's relative standing vis-à-vis a relevant outgroup. We therefore hypothesized that participants would evaluate their own group in a more positive way if the ingroup had publicly disapproved instead of approved of a *typical* ingroup transgressor, whereas this effect was expected to be less pronounced when the ingroup dealt with a *nontypical* ingroup transgressor. As in the first two studies, we hypothesized that participants would evaluate the outgroup in a more positive way if this outgroup had publicly approved instead of disapproved of a *typical* outgroup transgressor, whereas this effect was

expected to be less pronounced when the outgroup dealt with a *nontypical* outgroup transgressor.

1.2.3 Chapter 4 - Who Do We Inform? The Role of Status and Target in Intergroup Whistle-blowing

In Chapter 4, two studies focus on the phenomenon of intergroup whistle-blowing, i.e., the act of informing others on damaging information about an outgroup. The first study aims to demonstrate that ingroup status (low vs. high) moderates the effect of choice of target (i.e., the group that is informed; the ingroup or the outgroup) on the extent to which the whistle-blower's action was considered an act of loyalty to the ingroup, and to demonstrate that this moderating effect becomes pronounced as people more strongly identify with the ingroup. Participants learned that, on a number of relevant traits, their ingroup scored lower (low status) or higher (high status) than a relevant outgroup. People were then presented with a text describing a situation in which, depending on the condition, a fellow ingroup member exposed a transgressing outgroup member to either the ingroup or the outgroup. The main dependent variable was the extent to which the whistle-blower's action was considered an act of loyalty to the ingroup. It was expected that, among members of a *low status* group, whistle-blowing to the ingroup on an outgroup transgression would lead to higher levels of perceived loyalty than whistle-blowing to the outgroup. It was further expected that, among members of a *high status* group, whistle-blowing to the outgroup would lead to higher levels of perceived loyalty than whistle-blowing to the ingroup. These effects were expected to be most pronounced among high identifiers.

If the degree to which people consider whistle-blowing to be an act of loyalty to the ingroup depends on ingroup status and choice of target, then the same factors may well affect *people's own tendency* to engage in whistle-blowing themselves. The aim of the second study was therefore to demonstrate that ingroup status (low vs. high) affects people's decision to either inform the ingroup or the outgroup on an outgroup transgression, and that the expected pattern would become more pronounced as people more strongly identify with their ingroup. Participants learned that, on a number of relevant traits, their ingroup scored lower (low status) or higher (high status) than a relevant outgroup. They then learned that an outgroup member had cheated on a collective group task, after which they were offered the opportunity to reveal this to either their own group or the outgroup. The main dependent variable was whether people informed their ingroup or the outgroup about the outgroup transgressor. It was expected that strongly identifying members of a *low* status group would engage more in

whistle-blowing to the ingroup than to the outgroup, and that strongly identifying members of a *high* status group would engage more in whistle-blowing to the outgroup than to the ingroup. We expected the relation of ingroup status and choice of target to decline as people identify less with their group.

1.2.4 Chapter 5 - Summary and Discussion

The main findings are summarized and discussed in Chapter 5. Theoretical and practical implications of the current research, its strengths and limitations, as well as suggestions for future research will be reflected upon. Since the different empirical chapters of this dissertation were written as separate papers, some overlap between these chapters exists. This offers the opportunity to read them independent of each other.

- CHAPTER 2 -

What Have You Done for Us Lately? How Member Typicality, Member Contribution and Context Affect Perceived Member Suitability to Represent the Group

People generally care about how others perceive and judge them and the groups that are important to them. Particularly when people are in a position where their group is directly compared to another group, they strive for favourable intergroup distinctions: People are motivated to stand out, as a group, as much as possible against a relevant outgroup (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). However, since individuals vary in their specific qualities and capacities, they differ in the ability to positively contribute to their group's striving for positive intergroup distinction. The question rises which attributes determine a member's value to the group. The aim of this paper is to examine whether and how, within a salient intergroup setting, a member's degree of *typicality* for the group and his/her (amount of) prior *contribution* to the group affect this member's value to the group and, as a consequence, his/her potential to positively contribute to a favourable intergroup distinction. The two studies presented in this paper were designed to test several propositions. First, we suppose that members who strongly embody the group's identity are considered to be of greater value to the group than group members who do not and, as a consequence, are perceived to be better suited to represent the group. We also suppose that members who have substantially contributed to the group in terms of means or effort are considered to be of greater value to the group than group members who have not and, as a consequence, are perceived to be more suitable group representatives. Finally, we presume that the degree to which typicality and prior contribution to the group are valued in a group representative, depend on the specific intergroup context. This paper is the first to examine the separate and combined effects of member typicality and member prior contribution on perceived member value to the group. Before reporting the two studies, we first summarize the relevant literature within the underlying theoretical framework.

Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner, 1982; Abrams & Hogg, 1990) posits that, in their striving for a positive self-concept, individuals want to be part of groups that are positively evaluated, as membership of these groups provides people with a positive social identity. The best way to realize such a positive social identity is by distinguishing one's group in a favourable way from a relevant outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In their striving for favourable intergroup distinctions, a group is

dependent on its individual members and the wide variety of qualities and capacities each of them possesses. The question that rises is: Which member attributes exactly facilitate positive intergroup differentiation? What qualities are considered to be of value is greatly dependent on the background of the specific intergroup situation. However, some qualities may be rather fundamental to the group's needs. In this paper, we will focus on two member attributes we presume to be of major importance within salient intergroup settings: Typicality for the group and prior contribution to the group.

The first attribute that we believe will affect a member's value to the group and his/her potential to facilitate a favourable intergroup distinction is a member's position within, or typicality for, the group. If a member strongly embodies the image of the group s/he belongs to, this member can be considered typical for this group. Hogg showed that prototypical members (i.e., members who possess characteristics that are typical for the group and simultaneously contribute to maximum intergroup differentiation) and their behaviour strongly propagate a group's image (Hogg, 1992, 1993, 2001a, 2001b). Typical members generally establish group norms because, as a group prototype, they "define and prescribe attitudes, feelings, and behaviours that characterize one group and distinguish it from other groups" (Hogg, 2001a, p. 6), and thereby facilitate positive intergroup differentiation. Typical group members thus help to accentuate similarities within, and differences between the ingroup and the outgroup. Schmitt and Branscombe (2001) demonstrated a tendency for people who strongly identify with their group to like typical ingroup members more than nontypical ingroup members, as these typical fellow members "help to maintain the distinction between their own group and relevant outgroups" (Schmitt and Branscombe, 2001, p. 516). Manufacturers for example, often aim for their products to be recommended by celebrities who strongly embody the product's identity (e.g., a Formula 1 racing car driver promoting a car or watch brand, or a beauty model promoting cosmetic products). In the same vein, generally respected celebrities are often recruited to publicly serve as ambassadors for (charitable) organizations. Members who strongly embody a group's identity and everything a group stands for, are thus of great value to a group. As a result, highly typical group members are liked more than less typical group members, as the former confirm "the clarity and meaningfulness of the existing categorization" (Hogg, 1992, p. 104).

Support for this reasoning can also be found within literature on leadership demonstrating the positive relation between member prototypicality, (social) attraction, and perceived member effectiveness as a group representative (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992; Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995; Pavitt & Sackaroff, 1990; Hogg, Cooper-Shaw, & Holzworth, 1993; Hogg & Hardie, 1991; Hogg, Hardie, & Reynolds, 1995; Hogg &

Hains, 1996; Hains, Hogg, & Duck, 1997; Fielding & Hogg, 1997). As prototypical group members are liked by their fellow group members, these fellow members are likely "to comply with their suggestions, requests, and orders" (Fielding & Hogg, 1997, p. 41). Based on the previous, we argue that within a salient intergroup setting, typical group members are considered to be of greater value to the group than less typical group members and, as a consequence, are perceived to be better suited to represent the group.

Another attribute that we believe will affect a member's value to the group within a salient intergroup setting, is the amount of this member's prior contribution to the group. When members of a group have access to this group's common means, everyone is allowed to enjoy its benefit. However, in order to retain the supplies on an adequate level, everyone is at the same time implicitly required to contribute to these common group means. James and Cropanzano (1994) showed that some people are more likely to exert effort on behalf of their ingroups than other people. Members who contribute less or take more than their fair share are liked less than members who highly contribute to the collective (and are even willing to suffer a personal loss in doing so). Van Vugt & Chang (2006) for example, demonstrated that high status group members who decided to invest a given amount of money in the group were evaluated more positively than members who decided to appropriate the money to themselves. In the same vein, Marques and colleagues (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988; Experiment 2) found that students who lent their lecture-notes to their fellow students received more positive evaluations than students who did not. Yamagishi (1988) showed that group members who contribute to the public good receive more positive evaluations and are less likely to be punished by their group members compared to those who do not contribute to the public good. According to van Vugt and Hart (2004), members who choose (to continue) to put effort in the group while they can obtain better outcomes by leaving it, are of great value to the group. Their behaviour acts as a 'social glue' that holds the group together as soon as the going gets though (i.e., as external threats are imposed on the group). Particularly in competitive intergroup settings, where groups aim to outshine or outperform relevant outgroups, it is of great importance to display group cohesiveness and group loyalty. Members who obviously put a great deal of effort in the group highly contribute to this striving. We argue that within a salient intergroup setting, highly contributing group members are considered to be of greater value to the group than poorly contributing group members and, as a consequence, are perceived to be better suited to represent the group.

The existing literature on member typicality and on member prior contribution makes it plausible to assume that these factors each and independently affect member value to his/her group, member likeability, and perceived member suitability to represent the group. However, not much is known about how both factors, above and beyond each other, affect these constructs. Is, for example, highly contributing to a group's resources sufficient to be valued and considered a suitable group representative, regardless of one's position within that group? And can one, as a typical group member, afford to refrain from substantially contributing to the group? The aim of this research is to expand upon the earlier investigation on member typicality and member contribution, in order to examine how these factors (above and beyond each other) affect a member's value to the group and the extent to which this member is perceived to be a suitable group representative. In order to validate the assumptions, two studies were conducted. Study 2.1 investigated whether member typicality and prior contribution each and independently affect perceived member value, member likeability, and member selection to represent the group. Study 2.2 investigated whether specific group goals would moderate these expected effects.

2.1 Study 2.1

The aim of this study is to investigate whether a member's typicality for the group (typical vs. nontypical) and his/her prior contribution to the group (high vs. low) each and independently affect perceived member value to the group, member likeability, and perceived member suitability to represent the group. Since all participants were students of the VU University Amsterdam, the VU University was used as means of categorization. Participants were led to believe they were part of a VU University student team, whose performance on a series of tasks would be directly compared to that of a team of students of the University of Amsterdam (i.e., the rivalling outgroup)[1]. During the course of the experiment, participants were presented with information on a VU University team member's typicality for the group (typical vs. nontypical) and his/her prior contribution to the group (low vs. high). The main dependent variables were member value to the group, member likeability, and member selection to represent the group. It was expected that a typical group member would be considered as being of a greater value to the group than a nontypical group member, would be liked more, and would more often be selected as a group representative *(Hypothesis 1)*. It was also expected that a group member who had contributed much to the group would be

[1] The VU and the UvA are the only two universities in Amsterdam and can be considered rivalling - this categorization has been successfully employed in earlier research (e.g., Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 2001).

considered as being of a greater value to the group than a group member who had not, would be liked more, and would more often be selected as a group representative *(Hypothesis 2)*.

2.2 Method

Participants and Design

Participants were 100 students from the VU University Amsterdam (66 women, 34 men). Their mean age was 20.83 years (*SD* = 3.25). The design constituted a 2 (Contribution: low versus high) × 2 (Typicality: typical versus nontypical) between-subjects factorial design. Participants were paid for their participation and were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions.

Materials and Procedure

Upon entering the laboratory, participants were seated in separated cubicles equipped with a personal computer which was used to present instructions and register participants' responses. It was explained in the instructions that the purpose of the experiment was twofold. First, participants were told that in terms of certain personality traits a subtle distinction exists between students of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (VU; i.e., the ingroup) and of the University of Amsterdam (UvA; i.e., the rival outgroup). These traits were then measured among participants and would later be analysed by clinical psychology students in order to train these students in the interpretation of test data and in diagnosing individuals into the correct group (see also Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, and McKimmie, 2003). Participants were told that the second purpose of the experiment was to examine potential differences in task performance between VU and UvA students.

Participants were told they were part of a virtual group of five VU students (i.e., the ingroup) that was, on two tasks, to compete with a virtual group of five UvA students (i.e., the outgroup) over a monetary prize. Since participants were seated in separate cubicles and would in reality never meet or interact with these in- or outgroup members, the study could be run without the actual presence of other group members (thereby keeping the data independent). First, the participants were given the opportunity to convert part of their participation fee into points that would be donated to a "group pool" (i.e., one cent for one point, with a maximum of 50 cents). The maximal amount of points that could be raised for the group pool was 250 points. The pool was required for two subsequent group tasks. On the *first* task, a knowledge task, each group member was presented with 20 complex multiple choice questions. Every correct

answer yielded one point, and the total amount of points the group gathered (100 maximum), represented the factor by which the group pool was then multiplied. Next, participants were told that a default procedure prescribed that, before starting the *second* task (a task that would in reality never occur), four group members would have to decide whether to include or exclude the lowest scoring member on the first task within/from the group. It was mentioned that member inclusion or exclusion would not differentially affect the potential amount of points the group could gather on this task. Information on the member with the lowest score on the first task (labelled *Player 2*) was then presented. His/her position within the group was displayed by showing a bogus dot diagram that, allegedly based on their test scores, represented all VU students that ever took part in the experiment. Depending on his/her position and allegedly based on his/her test scores, Player 2 was represented by means of a red mark in the centre (*typical condition*) or periphery (*nontypical condition*) of the dot cloud. Moreover, the label 'typical VU student' (*typical condition*) or 'nontypical VU student' (*nontypical condition*) was shown. Prior contribution of Player 2 was displayed by showing the amount of money s/he had contributed to the group pool, which was 0 (*low contribution condition*) or 50 (*high contribution condition*) cents. A brief questionnaire was then administered.

The effectiveness of the manipulation of typicality was checked by asking participants to indicate their agreement with the following two statements: "The test results classify Player 2 as a typical VU student" and "I consider Player 2 to be a typical VU student" (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; α = .80). The effectiveness of the manipulation of contribution was checked with two questions: "How much did Player 2 contribute to the group pool?" (1 = *very little*, 7 = *very much*) and "How much did Player 2, as compared to the other players, contribute to the group pool?" (1 = *much less*, 7 = *much more*; α = .97). Perceived member value to the group was assessed with eight items, e.g., "To what extent do you consider Player 2 to be dedicated to the VU University?" and "To what extent do you think Player 2 stands up for the VU University?" (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*; α = .90). Member likeability was assessed with seven items, e.g., "I have positive feelings about Player 2" (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; α = .93). Member selection to represent the group on a future task was measured by asking participants to select one of the following two options: "Player 2 can stay in the group" (coded *1*) and "Player 2 has to leave the group" (coded *0*). Upon finishing, participants were thanked and shortly debriefed.

2.3 Results

Unless reported otherwise, data were analyzed by two-way ANOVA's over the full 2 (Typicality: typical versus nontypical) × 2 (Contribution: low versus high) design.

Manipulation checks

On perceived typicality of the transgressor, only a main affect of Typicality was found: Participants in the *typical* condition considered him/her to be a more typical VU University student (M = 4.63, SD = 1.11) than did participants in the *nontypical* condition (M = 2.69, SD = 1.07), F (1,96) = 78.81, p < .001, η^2 = .45. On perceived contribution of the fellow group member, only a main effect of Contribution was found: Participants in the *high contribution* condition (M = 6.45, SD = .77) reported a higher contribution than participants in the *low contribution* condition (M = 1.22, SD = .50), F (1,96) = 1601.15, p < .001, η^2 = .94. These data show that both manipulations were successful.

Perceived member value

Analysis of participants' perception of the fellow member's value to the group only yielded a main effect of Contribution: Participants in the *high contribution* condition (M = 4.34, SD = .79) considered him/her to be of greater value to the group than participants in the *low contribution* condition (M = 2.80, SD = .79), F (1,96) = 92.63, p < .001, η^2 = .49. This is in support of Hypothesis 2. Contrary to what was predicted by Hypothesis 1, there was no main effect of Typicality (F [1,96] < 1, *ns*).

Member likeability

Analysis of participants' evaluations of the fellow group member only yielded a main effect of Contribution: Participants in the *high contribution* condition (M = 5.18, SD = .70) evaluated their fellow group member more positively than participants in the *low contribution* condition (M = 3.81, SD = 1.07), F (1,96) = 58.05, p < .001, η^2 = .38. This is in support of Hypothesis 2. Contrary to what was predicted by Hypothesis 1, no significant main effect of Typicality was found (F [1,96] = 2.34, *ns*).

Member selection to represent the group

Analysis of participant's choice whether or not to select the fellow group member as a group representative only yielded a main effect of Contribution: Participants in the *high contribution* condition (M = .94, SD = .24) more often chose to select their fellow member as a group representative than participants in the *low contribution* condition (M = .42, SD = .50), F (1,96) = 43.38, p < .001, η^2 = .31. This is also in support of Hypothesis 2.

Contrary to what was predicted by Hypothesis 1, there was no main effect of Typicality (F [1,96] < 1, *ns*).

2.4 Discussion

We can conclude that the data of Study 2.1 do not support Hypothesis 1, which stated that participants would consider a typical group member as more valuable to the group than a nontypical group member. The data do however, support Hypothesis 2: Participants considered a highly contributing group member as more valuable to the group than a poorly contributing group member. Moreover, participants were more willing to include a highly contributing group member as a group representative, and liked him/her more than a poorly contributing group member.

The predicted effects of Typicality did not reach the level of significance, which might in part be ascribed to two methodological causes. First, the primary goal of the group task was to gather as many points as possible in order to win a monetary reward. Given the instrumental character of this context, the amount of member's prior contribution could have been viewed by participants as a more salient and possibly more relevant piece of information than member typicality. Second, in Study 2.1, the manipulation of prior contribution to the group consisted of rather extreme values: In the low contribution condition the fellow group member allegedly donated *none* of the 50 cents s/he was allowed to donate to the group pool, whereas in the high contribution condition the donation covered the *full* amount. The all-or-none character of the contribution manipulation might have 'overshadowed' the other available piece of information, namely the degree to which the fellow group member could be considered typical for his/her group.

2.5 Study 2.2

Study 2.2 was designed to provide a more stringent test of Hypotheses 1 and 2. Cutting back the manipulation of member's prior contribution to less extreme values might make participants more attentive to information on member typicality. We also included a manipulation of the intergroup context or, put differently, the specific group goal of the task (i.e., instrumental vs. identity confirming). On a task where propagating the group's identity is the primary goal, member typicality might be a more relevant piece of information. It is plausible to assume that, under such conditions, member typicality will affect perceived member value and member selection to represent the group.

Scheepers and colleagues (Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2002, 2003, 2006) demonstrated that intergroup differentiation can indeed serve an *instrumental* function (e.g., winning a monetary prize) but, when it is directed at "creating, expressing, and thereby confirming a sense of group identity" (Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2006, p. 944), intergroup differentiation is mainly serving an *identity confirming* function. The authors state that striving for intergroup differentiation can manifest itself in a number of ways and, though both functions can to some degree be served by these various forms of differentiation, they underline the connection of certain functions and forms of intergroup differentiation. According to the researchers, the instrumental function (e.g., winning a soccer game) is generally better served by instrumental forms of differentiation (e.g., scoring goals), whereas the identity confirming function (e.g., promoting one's favourite soccer team) is generally better served by symbolic forms of differentiation (e.g., chanting the soccer team's anthem). In Study 2.2, we therefore included the extra condition where identity confirmation would be the primary goal. We expected that this would create the right circumstance to more easily identify the impact of member typicality.

In order to optimally tap into the expected moderating effect of specific group goals in Study 2.2, we sharpened the dependent variables of Study 2.1. In addition to the dependent measures perceived member value and member selection to represent the group (straightforwardly operationalized as in- or exclusion), we included a more elaborate measure of perceived member selection to represent the group (i.e., perceived member suitability to represent the group), as well as a measure capturing people's affective evaluations of the member as a group representative. The aim of the latter scale was to measure participants' appraisals of the fellow member's suitability for the task given specific group goals, rather than to measure participants' appraisals of this member per se.

We hypothesized that people would consider a typical group member to be of greater value to the group than a nontypical group member, would consider a typical group member more suitable to represent the group than a nontypical group member, would more often select a typical than a nontypical group member as a group representative, and would have more positive appraisals of a typical than a nontypical group member representing the group *(Hypothesis 1a)*. Moreover, we expected the intergroup context or -more specifically- specific group goals to moderate this effect, so that the greater perceived group value, higher perceived suitability to represent the group, more conclusive selection as a group representative, and more positive appraisals of a typical

(vs. a nontypical) group member would be more pronounced on an identity confirming task than on an instrumental task (*Hypothesis 1b*). We also hypothesized that people would consider a highly contributing group member to be of greater value to the group than a poorly contributing group member, would consider a highly contributing group member more suitable to represent the group than a poorly contributing group member, would more often select a highly than a poorly contributing group member as a group representative, and would have more positive appraisals of a highly than a poorly contributing group member representing the group *(Hypothesis 2a)*. We expected specific group goals to also moderate this effect, so that the greater perceived group value, higher perceived suitability to represent the group, more conclusive selection as a group representative, and more positive appraisals of a highly (vs. a poorly) contributing group member would be more pronounced on an instrumental task than on an identity confirming task (*Hypothesis 2b*).

2.6 Method

Participants and Design

Participants were 92 students from the VU University Amsterdam (57 women, 36 men). Their mean age was 20.61 years (*SD* = 3.77). The design constituted a 2 (Contribution: low versus high) × 2 (Typicality: typical versus nontypical) × 2 (Context: instrumental versus identity confirming) between-subjects factorial design. Participants were paid for their participation and were randomly assigned to one of the eight conditions.

Materials and Procedure

The experiment was run on personal computers. A bogus article from a prominent student magazine informed participants on a series of television programs, that would be on air in the near future. The programs would feature the VU University and five other Dutch universities, each of them represented by five of its students. In the *instrumental condition*, participants were told that during these programs, the university teams would compete against each other by accomplishing practical and theoretical assignments, and that the highest scoring university would win a substantial amount of money. In the *identity confirming condition*, participants were told that each university would be the subject of a documentary displaying the unique character of this university. Each documentary would show a day of the life of each of the five students of that university. All participants were told that the VU University had randomly selected five potential candidates (i.e., VU University students), and that VU University students themselves were to decide whether these candidates would actually participate. Information on one specific candidate was then presented. Typicality for the group was

displayed in the same vein as in Study 2.1. Prior contribution was displayed by the extent to which the candidate had previously contributed to the successful completion of an obligatory group based part of a VU University study program (i.e., the writing of a scientific article). Participants were told that the candidate had contributed little (*low contribution condition*) or much (*high contribution condition*) to this success, and that he had accomplished far less (*low contribution condition*) or more (*high contribution condition*) work than the other students who participated in the project. A brief questionnaire was then administered.

Unless reported otherwise, agreement with the statements was measured using a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). In order to measure perceived instrumentality of the task, participants were asked to indicate their agreement on the statement: "It is of great importance for each university to outperform the others throughout the television program". In order to measure the perceived identity confirming nature of the task, participants were asked to indicate their agreement on the statement: "It is of great importance for each university to express its unique identity throughout the television program". The effectiveness of the manipulation of typicality was checked by asking participants to indicate their agreement with the statement: "The test results classify the candidate as a typical VU University student". Participants could also indicate where the tests had classified the candidate (displayed as a movable cross) in relation to the VU University students (displayed as the dot diagram that was used for the manipulation). The distance from the cross to the centre of the dot cloud (which could vary from 0 [*minimal distance*] to 250 [*maximal distance*]) would form a direct measure of the position of the candidate in relation to his group. After the second item was reverse coded, both items were transformed into *Z*-scores, and averaged into a reliable scale ($\alpha = .91$). The effectiveness of the manipulation of contribution was checked with two questions: "How much effort did the candidate put into the article of his study group?" (1 = *very little*, 7 = *very much*) and "How much effort did the candidate, as compared to the other players, put into the article of his study group?" (1 = *much less*, 7 = *much more*; $\alpha = .99$). Perceived group value was assessed with seven items, e.g., "To what extent do you consider the candidate to be dedicated to the VU University?" and "To what extent do you think the candidate stands up for the VU University?" (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*; $\alpha = .88$). Member inclusion was measured by asking participants to indicate their agreement with the statement "I would like the candidate to participate in the program on behalf of the VU University". Perceived member suitability to represent the group was measured with the statements "To me, the candidate seems suited to participate in the television program on behalf of the VU University" and "Regarding the content of the television

program, I surely think the candidate will be of importance to the VU University" (α = .81). Affective evaluations of the candidate as a group representative (to which we will further refer as 'affective evaluation') was assessed with the items "How do you feel about the candidate participating in the television program?" (1 = *very negatively*, 7 = *very positively*) and "I have positive feelings about the candidate's participation in the television program" (α = .96). Upon finishing, participants were thanked and debriefed.

2.7 Results

Unless reported otherwise, data were analyzed by two-way ANOVA's over the full 2 (Typicality: typical versus nontypical) × 2 (Contribution: low versus high) × 2 (Context: instrumental versus non instrumental) design.

Manipulation checks

On perceived instrumentality of the context, only a main effect of Context was found: Participants who had read about the instrumental context (*M* = 5.87, *SD* = 1.31) agreed more with the statement that, for each university, it would be of great importance to outperform the others than participants who had read about the identity confirming context (*M* = 5.09, *SD* = 1.47), *F* (1,84) = 7.59, *p* < .01, η^2 = .08. Moreover, participants who had read about the identity confirming context (*M* = 5.91, *SD* = 1.04) agreed more with the statement that, for each university, it would be of great importance to express its unique identity than participants who had read about the instrumental context (*M* = 5.23, *SD* = 1.18), *F* (1,84) = 8.25, *p* < .01, η^2 = .09. On perceived typicality of the fellow group member, only a main affect of Typicality was found: Participants who had read about the member being typical for the group considered him to be a more typical VU University student (*M* = .91, *SD* = .31) than did participants who had read about the member being nontypical for the group (*M* = -.87, *SD* = .40), *F* (1,84) = 580.36, *p* < .001, η^2 = .87. On perceived contribution of the fellow group member, only a main effect of Contribution was found: Participants who had read about the highly contributing member (*M* = 6.38, *SD* = .62) reported a higher contribution than participants who had read about the poorly contributing member (*M* = 1.68, *SD* = .61), *F* (1,84) = 1314.24, *p* < .001, η^2 = .94. These data show that all manipulations were successful.

Perceived member value

Analysis of participants' perception of the member's value to the group yielded a main effect of Typicality: Participants who had read about the member being typical for the group (*M* = 4.33, *SD* = 1.16) considered him to be of greater value to the group than did

participants who had read about the member being nontypical for the group (M = 3.34, SD = 1.28), F (1,84) = 34.26, p < .001, η^2 = .29. This is in support of Hypothesis 1a. This effect was not moderated by Context, F (1,84) < 1, *ns*.

A main effect of Contribution was found: Participants who read about the highly contributing member (M = 4.76, SD = .92) considered him to be of greater value to the group than participants who read about the poorly contributing member (M = 2.93, SD = .98), F (1,84) = 117.30, p < .001, η^2 = .58. This is in support of Hypothesis 2a. This effect was not moderated by Context, F (1,84) < 1, *ns*.

Table 2.1 - *Member selection, Member suitability to represent the group, and Member representation evaluation as a function of Typicality and Context (Study 2.2)*

	instrumental		identity confirming	
	nontypical	typical	nontypical	typical
Member inclusion	3.96 [a] (1.81)	4.48 [a] (1.83)	2.74 [b] (1.45)	4.41 [a] (1.50)
Member suitability to represent the group	3.75 [a] (1.57)	4.43 [a] (1.69)	2.61 [b] (1.50)	4.41 [a] (1.31)
Affective evaluation	3.96 [a] (1.83)	4.50 [a] (1.85)	2.96 [b] (1.58)	4.57 [a] (1.32)

Note. Standard deviations in parentheses. Means with different subscripts within each row differ significantly (p < .05) from each other following LSD post-hoc tests.

Member inclusion

Analysis of participant's choice whether or not to include the fellow group member as a group representative yielded a main effect of Typicality: Participants had a stronger tendency to select a typical fellow group member (M = 4.44, SD = 1.66) than a nontypical fellow group member (M = 3.36, SD = 1.74) for participation on behalf of the group, F (1,84) = 17.61, p < .001, η^2 = .17. This is in support of Hypothesis 1a. There was also a main effect of Context: On a task with an instrumental goal (M = 4.21, SD = 1.82), participants had a stronger tendency to select the fellow group member for participation on behalf of the group than on a task with an identity confirming goal (M = 3.56, SD = 1.69), F (1,84) = 6.15, p < .05, η^2 = .07. The main effect of Context was fully moderated by

Typicality, as indicated by the interaction effect of Typicality and Context (F [1,84] = 4.14, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .05$). The means are presented in Table 2.1. Participants' stronger tendency to select a typical rather than a nontypical fellow group member as a group representative was significant on a task with an identity confirming goal but not on a task with an instrumental goal. This is in accordance with Hypothesis 1b. A series of LSD post hoc tests showed that participants' tendency to select a poorly contributing nontypical group member was weaker than their tendency to select a group member from any other condition.

Table 2.2 - *Member selection, Member suitability to represent the group, and Member representation evaluation as a function of Contribution and Context (Study 2.2)*

	instrumental		identity confirming	
	low contribution	high contribution	low contribution	high contribution
Member inclusion	2.96 [a] (1.40)	5.52 [b] (1.16)	2.74 [a] (1.51)	4.41 [c] (1.44)
Member suitability to represent the group	2.83 [a] (1.02)	5.39 [b] (1.05)	2.78 [a] (1.55)	4.23 [c] (1.47)
Affective evaluation	2.94 [a] (1.45)	5.57 [b] (1.08)	2.93 [a] (1.47)	4.59 [c] (1.42)

Note. Standard deviations in parentheses. Means with different subscripts within each row differ significantly ($p < .05$) from each other following LSD post-hoc tests.

A main effect of Contribution also emerged: Participants had a stronger tendency to select a highly contributing (M = 4.98, SD = 1.41) than a poorly contributing (M = 2.85, SD = 1.44) group member for participation on behalf of the group, F (1,84) = 64.07, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .43$. This is in support of Hypothesis 2a. The effect of Contribution was marginally significantly moderated by Context, F (1,84) = 3.15, $p < .08$, $\eta^2 = .04$. The means are presented in Table 2.2. Participants' stronger tendency to select a highly rather than a poorly contributing fellow group member for participation on behalf of the group, was more pronounced on a task with an instrumental goal than on a task with an identity confirming goal, which is in support of Hypothesis 2b.

Perceived member suitability to represent the group

Analysis of perceived member suitability to represent the group yielded a main effect of Typicality: A typical group member (M = 4.42, SD = 1.50) was considered to be better suited to represent the group than a nontypical group member (M = 3.19, SD = 1.63), F (1,84) = 28.94, p < .001, η^2 = .26. This is in support of Hypothesis 1a. A main effect of Context also emerged: On a task with an instrumental goal (M = 4.09, SD = 1.65), the fellow group member was considered to be better suited to represent the group than on a task with an identity confirming goal (M = 3.49, SD = 1.66), F (1,84) = 6.51, p < .05, η^2 = .07. An interaction effect of Typicality and Context (F [1,84] = 4.85, p < .05, η^2 = .06) again fully explains these main effects. The means are presented in Table 2.1. The higher perceived suitability to represent the group of a typical (as compared to a nontypical) fellow group member was significant on a task with an identity confirming goal but not on a task with an instrumental goal, which is in support of Hypothesis 1b. A series of LSD post hoc tests showed that participants considered a poorly contributing nontypical group member less suited to represent the group than a group member from any other condition.

The expected main effect of Contribution was also found: Participants considered a highly contributing member (M = 4.82, SD = 1.39) to be better suited to represent the group than a poorly contributing member (M = 2.81, SD = 1.29), F (1,84) = 72.80, p < .001, η^2 = .46. This finding is in accordance with Hypothesis 2a. The effect of Contribution was moderated by Context, F (1,84) = 6.31, p = .05, η^2 = .07. The means are presented in Table 2.2. The higher perceived suitability to represent the group of a highly (as compared to a poorly) contributing group member, was more pronounced on a task with an instrumental goal than on a task with an identity confirming goal, which is accordance with Hypothesis 2b.

Member inclusion

Analysis of participants' affective evaluations of the candidate as a group representative yielded a main effect of Typicality: Participants had more positive appraisals of a typical group member representing the group (M = 4.53, SD = 1.59) than about a nontypical group member representing the group (M = 3.47, SD = 1.77), F (1,48) = 17.27, p < .001, η^2 = .17. These findings are in support Hypothesis 1a. The effect of Typicality was marginally significantly moderated by Context, F (1,48) = 3.54, p = .06, η^2 = .04. The means are presented in Table 2.1. In support of Hypothesis 1b, participants' more positive appraisals of a typical then a nontypical group member representing the group was significant on a task with an identity confirming goal but not on a task with an instrumental goal. A series of LSD post hoc tests showed that participants felt worse

about a poorly contributing nontypical group member representing the group than about a group member from any other condition doing so.

A main effect of Contribution showed that participants felt better about a highly contributing member representing the group (M = 5.09, SD = 1.34) than about a poorly contributing member representing the group (M = 2.94, SD = 1.45), F (1,84) = 66.57, p < .001, η^2 = .44. These results are in accordance with Hypothesis 2a. The effect of Contribution was marginally significantly moderated by Context, F (1,48) = 3.79, p = .055, η^2 = .04. The means are presented in Table 2.2. Participants' more positive appraisals of a highly contributing than a poorly contributing group member representing the group was, as predicted by Hypothesis 2b, more pronounced on a task with an instrumental context than on a task with an identity confirming context.

2.8 Discussion

We can conclude that the data of Study 2.2 support Hypothesis 1a: Compared to a nontypical group member, participants considered a typical group member as more valuable to the group and more suitable to represent the group, more often selected a typical member as a group representative, and had more positive appraisals of a typical member representing the group. Most of these effects were moderated by specific group goals. Only on a task with an *identity confirming* goal were member inclusion, perceived suitability to represent the group, and positive appraisals higher in the case of a typical fellow member than in the case of a nontypical fellow member. These findings are in support of Hypothesis 1b. The data also support Hypothesis 2a: Compared to a poorly contributing group member, participants considered a highly contributing group member as more valuable to the group and more suitable to represent the group, more often selected a highly contributing member as a group representative, and had more positive appraisals of a highly contributing member representing the group. Most of these effects were moderated by specific group goals, in that they were stronger on a task with an *instrumental* goal than on a task with an identity confirming goal. This is in support of Hypothesis 2b.

The main effect of typicality and contribution on perceived member value was not moderated by specific group goals. Evidently, the substantial contribution of a member to his/her group is no less to his/her credit if it is done within an identity confirming, than within an instrumental context. In the same vein, the appreciation of a member for his/her being typical for the group, is no less within an instrumental context than within an identity confirming context. It is not until people start evaluating *this member's*

suitability to represent the group, that specific group goals determine to what extent typicality or contribution is a true asset.

2.9 General Discussion

In two experiments we showed that, within a salient intergroup setting, typical group members are valued and liked more than nontypical group members, are considered to be more suitable group representatives, and are more likely to actually be selected as group representatives. In the same vein, group members who highly contribute to their group and its resources, were valued and liked more than poorly contributing group members, are considered to be more suitable group representatives, and are more likely to actually be selected as such. Based on the literature on different functions of intergroup differentiation (e.g., Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2002, 2003, 2006), we furthermore identified specific group goals as a moderating factor of both the effect of member typicality, and the effect of prior contribution on perceived member suitability to represent the group. Only on a task where the primary goal of the group was to *propagate its unique identity* (i.e., an identity confirming context), typical group members were perceived to be more suitable group representatives, and were more likely to be selected as such. The finding that highly contributing group members were perceived as more suitable group representatives and were more likely to actually be selected, was more pronounced on a task where the primary goal of the group was to *gather more points than relevant outgroups* (i.e., an instrumental context). Apparently, the degree to which a member's typicality for the group and/or a member's substantial contribution to the group is considered to boost the group's image within a salient intergroup context, is dependent on the specific context of the intergroup situation.

The current findings, as well as existing literature on member contributions (e.g., van Vugt & Chang, 2006; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens; 1988, Yamagishi, 1988), demonstrate that a group's appraisal of a member strongly depends on this member's contribution to that group. High contributors are liked and valued more, and are perceived to be better suited to represent the group than poorly contributing members. This difference is even more pronounced within situations "requiring such things as high levels of teamwork and cooperation" (James & Cropanzano, 1994, p. 201). A hard working, affluent, generous, and loyal leader of a political party, for example, will be highly valued by the members of this party. In some situations however, it is considered to be of great importance for a group to be represented by someone who strongly embodies the group's identity, its norms, and everything else that it stands for. During general elections for example, a party member who lacks the potential to vigorously promote

the party's identity has a remote chance to be selected to represent the group. Clearly, it often does not only matter what one *does*, but also who one *is*.

The present study investigated how typicality and prior contributions affect the degree to which ingroup members are valued and considered suitable group representatives. Do the current findings also apply to noningroup members? Van Leeuwen and colleagues (van Leeuwen, van den Bosch, Castano & Hopman, 2007) demonstrated that characteristics and behaviours of outgroup members are easily generalized to the outgroup as a whole. They showed that the negative impact of an outgroup member's transgression resulted in a negative outgroup image. Negative *out*group and positive *in*group information both contribute to a favourable intergroup distinction. However, positive *out*group information and negative *in*group information both threaten the relative standing of one's own group (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). A relevant outgroup that is represented by a nontypical or poorly contributing outgroup member, might for that reason evoke less resistance than an outgroup that is represented by a typical or, respectively, highly contributing outgroup member. If the preference for particular *in*group members representing the ingroup stems from the striving to enhance the relative standing of one's group, then the same can be expected for the preference for particular *out*group members. As a consequence, highly contributing and typical *out*group representatives are likely to be perceived as threatening, and might therefore not be liked and valued as much as ingroup members with the same characteristics.

An interesting domain for which the current findings might be of relevance is that of *prospective* group members. An important determinant in a group's decision about whether to establish a relationship with a prospective member, is the extent to which this individual is able to satisfy the group's needs (Levine & Moreland, 1994; Levine, Moreland, & Choi, 2001). The question rises how prospective members can best gratify a group's needs - by being typical for, and/or by substantially contributing, to this group? As the current data show, hard working and generous people are helpful to the attainment of a group's goals in virtually every situation. Therefore, significantly contributing to a group seems to be a very powerful tool, and is likely to increase an aspirant's chances to be accepted as a full group member. Based on the current findings, one could suppose that within a noninstrumental intergroup setting, a prospective member who is actively propagating a group's characteristics, is also likely to be accepted by that group. However, literature on impostors (e.g., Jetten, Summerville, Hornsey, & Mewse, 2005) learns that groups are very protective of their identities. Non-members, trying to gain group membership by taking on and actively propagating this

group's characteristics should thus, in order to prevent possible resistance by the group, be cautious in doing so. Future research on non-member typicality and contributions might elucidate whether and how, under different situational circumstances, these factors affect a group's acceptance of this aspirant member.

- CHAPTER 3 -

To Benefit from a Bad Apple: Typicality of a Transgressing Outgroup Member Moderates the Effect of Outgroup Reaction on General Outgroup Evaluation

Most people care about how others perceive and judge them and the groups they belong to. Particularly when people are in a position where their group is directly compared to another group, they are motivated to portray their group more favourably than the other group (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). A group's image is mainly determined by its members and their behaviour, and typical group members are highly influential in determining the image of their group (Hogg, 1992, 2001a, 2001b). Because of his or her association with the group, a typical outgroup member openly transgressing the norms of good behaviour affects the image of the outgroup in a negative way. The central notion that is tested in this paper is that the presence of a transgressing typical member within the outgroup can help to improve the relative standing of one's own group. One can therefore reason that an outgroup actively *approving* of such a transgressing typical member, thereby maintaining the relative intergroup status difference, will elicit positive feelings among people, leading them to evaluate this outgroup in a relatively positive way. The aim of this article is to provide more insight into how the reaction of an outgroup to a transgressing typical or nontypical outgroup member affects the way we evaluate this outgroup. With only one exception (van Leeuwen, van den Bosch, Castano, & Hopman, 2009), the present research is the first to examine the effect of a group's reaction to a transgressing member on the way this group is perceived by outsiders. Before reporting our three studies, we will first summarize the relevant literature.

Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) states that in search for positive feelings of self esteem, people want to be part of groups that are positively evaluated: Membership of such groups provides people with a positive social identity. The best way to realize a positive social identity is through intergroup differentiation: Standing out, as a group, as much as possible against a salient outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In order to achieve this, people can compare their group with lower status groups, or stress the importance of dimensions on which their own group excels. Another way to strive for positive intergroup differentiation is to stress the importance of ingroup norms. Ingroup norms represent the behaviours or features that members should adopt and that

maintain distinctiveness from the outgroup (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

Members who do not adhere to broad societal codes, or violate specific group norms, are termed deviants (Hornsey, Jetten, McAuliffe, & Hogg, 2006). The association of one's group with norm violating or deviant members is particularly damaging, since it threatens the ingroup's image, and thereby its relative standing (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). As a consequence, people for whom their group membership is of great importance appreciate normative fellow ingroup members, but have a relatively negative attitude towards ingroup members who deviate from ingroup norms (Hutchison & Abrams, 2003).

Tajfel and Turner (1979, p. 16) stated that the evaluation of a group is largely determined with reference to relevant other groups. As the authors put it: "The evaluation of one's own group is determined with reference to specific other groups through social comparisons in terms of value-laden attributes and characteristics. Positively discrepant comparisons between in-group and out-group produce high prestige; negatively discrepant comparisons between in-group and out-group result in low prestige." As a consequence, one would not only expect 'good' ingroup members to boost the ingroup's relative standing by reflecting positively on the ingroup, but one would also expect 'bad' outgroup members to boost the ingroup's relative standing by reflecting negatively on the outgroup. Thus, in the same vein the association of one's ingroup with positively laden attributes and characteristics leads to an enhanced ingroup prestige vis-à-vis a relevant outgroup, the association of this outgroup with negatively laden attributes and characteristics leads to an enhanced ingroup prestige when comparing with this outgroup.

The notion that negative information about a relevant outgroup may enhance the ingroup's relative standing is supported by the finding that outgroup members who undermine the positive distinctiveness of the outgroup are evaluated more positively than outgroup members who promote the outgroup's positive distinctiveness (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998). Research on schadenfreude (Leach, Spears, Branscombe, & Doosje, 2003; Spears & Leach, 2004; Leach & Spears, 2008) shows that people tend to enjoy the misfortune suffered by an outgroup - especially in domains important to group identity.

Since the status of the ingroup directly benefits from the association of an outgroup with norm violating behaviour, people are motivated to emphasize this association. Van

Prooijen and Lam (2007) for example, stated that, in order to enhance the relative status of their own group, people are likely to stress the association of an outgroup with an outgroup offence by actively punishing the outgroup offender. Whereas outgroup punishment of the offender will weaken the outgroup-offence association, outgroup approval will, on the other hand, only strengthen the association of the outgroup with the norm violating behaviour, thereby boosting the ingroup's relative status. An outgroup offender being approved of by his/her group can thus be expected to more strongly contribute to a favourable intergroup differentiation than an outgroup offender being disapproved of by his/her group, evoking positive feelings among the ingroup.

If the association between an outgroup and norm-breaking behaviour boosts the relative standing of one's own group, thereby evoking positive feelings among the ingroup, then this effect should be most pronounced when transgressions are committed by those outgroup members who most strongly embody outgroup norms. People who are typical of their group best represent what the group stands for as a whole, whereas less typical group members represent the group less well (Jetten, 2006). Hogg (Hogg, 1992, 2001a, 2001b) was one of the first to show that prototypical members and their behaviour strongly affect a group's image. Typical members establish group norms because, as a group prototype, they "define and prescribe attitudes, feelings, and behaviours that characterize one group and distinguish it from other groups" (Hogg, 2001a, p. 6), and thereby facilitate positive intergroup differentiation. Typical group members thus help us accentuate similarities within, and differences between the ingroup and the outgroup. As a result, highly prototypical ingroup and outgroup members are liked more than less prototypical ingroup and outgroup members because "this confirms the clarity and meaningfulness of the existing categorization" (Hogg, 1992, p. 104). Transgressing typical outgroup members are thus particularly able to affect positive intergroup differentiation, because these typical group members strongly determine the image of the group as a whole. Unequivocal support of the outgroup towards such a transgressing typical member will only strengthen the association between the norm-breaking behaviour and the outgroup, thereby optimally contributing to positive intergroup differentiation. On the basis of this argument, we propose that outgroup approval rather than disapproval of a transgressing *typical* outgroup member will evoke more positive evaluations from outsiders.

The aim of this research is to validate the assumption that typicality (typical vs. nontypical) of a transgressor within the outgroup will moderate the effect of outgroup reaction (approval vs. disapproval) to this transgressing outgroup member on the way people evaluate this outgroup. We expect outgroup approval of a transgressing typical

outgroup member to result in more positive affective evaluations towards the outgroup than outgroup disapproval, since the presence of a transgressing typical member within the outgroup contributes to positive intergroup differentiation. Nontypical outgroup transgressors, on the other hand, are able to contribute to positive intergroup differentiation to a lesser degree, which gives rise to our expectation that outgroup reaction to a transgressing nontypical outgroup member (compared to a transgressing typical outgroup member) will have a less distinct effect on people's affective evaluations of this outgroup. In order to validate these assumptions, three studies were conducted: Study 3.1 and Study 3.2 investigated affective evaluation of the outgroup, and Study 3.3 investigated affective evaluations of both the outgroup and the ingroup.

3.1 Study 3.1

The aim of this study was to demonstrate that transgressor typicality (typical vs. nontypical) moderates the effect of outgroup reaction (approval vs. disapproval) on affective evaluation of the outgroup. Participants were presented with a news article that described a competition between an ingroup and an outgroup. People read about a transgressing outgroup member (typical or nontypical) whose behaviour was subsequently approved or disapproved of by his group. The main dependent variable was affective evaluation of the outgroup. It was expected that transgressor typicality (typical vs. nontypical) would moderate the effect of outgroup reaction (approval vs. disapproval) on people's affective evaluations of the outgroup *(Hypothesis 1)*. Specifically, we expected the effect of outgroup reaction to be particularly pronounced in the typical condition: Outgroup approval of a transgressing typical outgroup member was expected to result in a more positive affective evaluation towards the outgroup than outgroup disapproval. We expected the effect of outgroup reaction to a transgressing nontypical member on outgroup evaluation to be less pronounced.

3.2 Method

Participants and Design

Seventy-seven students from the VU University participated. The design constituted a 2 (Typicality: typical versus nontypical) $\times$ 2 (Reaction: approval versus disapproval) between-subjects factorial design. Participants were paid for their participation and were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions.

Materials and Procedure

By means of a short paper and pencil questionnaire participants were asked to read a press article about a knowledge quiz between a team of the VU University (VU; i.e., the ingroup) and the University of Amsterdam (UvA; i.e., the outgroup). The VU and the UvA are the only two universities in Amsterdam and can be considered rivalling - this categorization has been successfully employed in earlier research (e.g., Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 2001). Both teams consisted of six students: Five regular members and one team captain. The article described Tim, a team member of the outgroup (a computer science student) committing fraud by breaking into the computer system of the organization of the competition, thereby getting hold of the correct answers to the questions that would be used in the quiz. This outgroup member was either described as the most representative UvA member within the team and as the team captain (in the *typical condition*) or as the least representative UvA member within the team and as a regular team member (in the *nontypical condition*). After reading about the transgression, participants read about a spokesman of the UvA, reacting to the incident by means of an official statement that read either as follows: "The UvA greatly regrets this event and does not want to be associated with such incidents" (*disapproval condition*), or as: "An ingenious action like this once again underlines the excellent quality of the computer science program of the UvA" (*approval condition*). After reading the article, a brief questionnaire was administered.

The effectiveness of the manipulation of typicality was checked by asking participants to indicate their agreement with the statement "Before his action, Tim was a suitable representative of the UvA" (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*). The effectiveness of the manipulation of reaction was checked by asking participants to indicate their agreement with the statement "The spokesman of the UvA approves of Tim's behaviour". Both questions were asked using a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Affective evaluation of the outgroup was assessed with the item: "How do you feel about the UvA in general?" (1 = *very negatively*, 7 = *very positively*).

3.3 Results and Conclusions

Manipulation checks

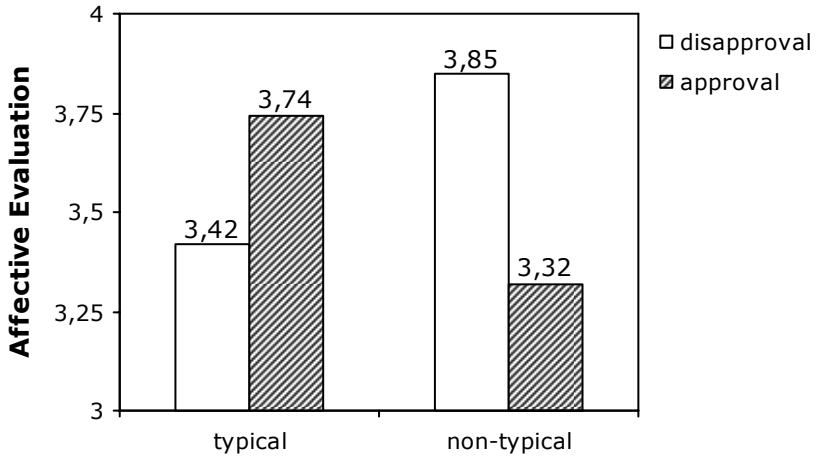
Data were analyzed by two-way ANOVA's over the full 2 (Typicality: typical versus nontypical) × 2 (Reaction: approval versus disapproval) design. On perceived typicality of the transgressor, only a main affect of Typicality was found: Participants who read about the typical transgressor(M = 3.68, SD = .96) considered the transgressor to be a more suitable representative of his group than did participants who read about the

nontypical transgressor (M = 3.00, SD = 1.10), F (1,73) = 8.43, p < .01, η^2 = .10. On perceived approval of the spokesman, only a main effect of Reaction was found: Participants who read about the group approving of the transgressor (M = 3.37, SD = 1.20) agreed more with the statement that the spokesman approved of the transgressor's behaviour than did participants who read about the group disapproving of the transgressor (M = 1.33, SD = .48), F (1,73) = 94.97, p < .001, η^2 = .57. These data show that both manipulations were successful.

Affective evaluation of the outgroup

Analysis of affective evaluation of the outgroup only yielded an interaction of Typicality and Reaction, F (1,73) = 6.19, p < .05, η^2 = .08. The means are presented in Figure 3.1. Tests for the simple main effects of Reaction within each level of Typicality showed that participants rated the outgroup somewhat more positively, though not significantly, when the spokesman's reaction to the typical transgressor was approval compared to disapproval, F (1, 73) = 1.69, *ns*. In the nontypical transgressor condition participants rated the outgroup more positively when the spokesman's reaction to the transgressor was disapproval compared to approval, F(1, 73) = 4.95, p < .05, η^2 = .06.

Figure 3.1 - *Affective evaluation of the outgroup as a function of transgressor typicality and outgroup reaction (Study 3.1).*



In sum, we can conclude that the data of Study 3.1 partially support Hypothesis 1: The effect of outgroup reaction to a transgressing outgroup member on people's evaluation of this outgroup was moderated by typicality of the outgroup transgressor. Participants tended to make more positive outgroup evaluations if the outgroup approved instead of disapproved of a typical outgroup transgressor, whereas participants made significantly more positive outgroup evaluations if the outgroup disapproved instead of approved of a nontypical outgroup transgressor. The observed effect of outgroup reaction to a

transgressing nontypical outgroup member on general outgroup evaluation was not explicitly predicted, whereas the predicted effect of outgroup reaction to a transgressing typical outgroup member, though in the expected direction, did not reach the traditional level of significance. This unexpected pattern of results might in part be ascribed to some methodological imperfections, as we will discuss in more detail in the following section.

3.4 Study 3.2

Study 3.2 was designed to replicate the results from Study 3.1. Its design differs at two points, which will be treated here. First, in Study 3.1, the predicted effect of Reaction on people's affective evaluations towards the outgroup did not reach conventional levels of significance within the *typical* condition. A possible explanation may be that the manipulation of typicality, as it was employed in Study 3.1, not only mentioned the degree to which the transgressor could be considered a typical or representative group member, but also whether he was a team captain (in the *typical* condition) or a regular team member (in the *nontypical* condition). It may be more difficult to turn a blind eye to a transgression made by an explicit group leader rather than a merely typical member. This leadership element might have somehow repressed the expected effect of typicality on affective evaluation of the outgroup. In Study 3.2, we therefore manipulated typicality of the transgressor only by means of the representativity description.

Second, Study 3.2 was run on personal computers situated in individual cubicles. In order to more accurately assess the effect of outgroup reaction on the way people evaluate this outgroup, affective evaluation was measured twice: Once after the manipulation of typicality but before the manipulation of reaction, and once after the manipulation of reaction. The first measure can be considered a base-line measure. Since the reaction manipulation was the only piece of information provided between the first and the second measure, the difference between these two measures can be considered to be the most accurate indication of the effect of outgroup reaction on the way this outgroup is perceived - that is, the effect above and beyond the possible influence of the transgression and/or the transgressor on the dependent measure.

As in Study 3.1, it was expected that transgressor typicality (typical vs. nontypical) would moderate the effect of outgroup reaction (approval vs. disapproval) on people's affective evaluations of the outgroup *(Hypothesis 1)*. More specifically, it was expected that participants' affective evaluation of the outgroup would be more positive if the outgroup publicly approved instead of disapproved of a typical outgroup transgressor.

We expected this effect to be less pronounced in the case of a transgressing nontypical outgroup member.

3.5 Method

Participants and Design

Participants were 100 students from the VU University Amsterdam (50 women, 50 men). Their mean age was 22.18 years (*SD* = 5.86). The design constituted a 2 (Typicality: typical versus nontypical) × 2 (Reaction: approval versus disapproval) between-subjects factorial design. Participants were paid two Euros for their participation and were randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions.

Materials and Procedure

The materials and procedure of this experiment were mainly similar to that of Study 3.1, with the following two exceptions. First, Study 3.2 was run on personal computers situated in individual cubicles. Second, to participants in the typical condition, the outgroup transgressor was merely described as someone whom his fellow group members considered a typical group member and therefore a suitable representative of the team. To participants in the nontypical condition, the outgroup transgressor was described as someone whom his fellow group members considered not a very typical group member and therefore a less suitable representative of the team.

Unless reported otherwise, all questions were asked using a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The effectiveness of the manipulation of typicality was checked by asking participants to indicate where they saw the outgroup transgressor (displayed as a movable cross) in relation to his group (displayed as a circle). The distance from the cross to the centre of the circle (which could vary from 0 [*minimal distance*] to 250 [*maximal distance*]) would be a direct measure of perceived group typicality of the outgroup transgressor. The effectiveness of the manipulation of reaction was checked by asking participants to indicate their agreement with the statement "The spokesman of the UvA approves of Tim's behaviour". Participants' perception of the transgression was assessed with the statements "Tim has committed an offence" and "Tim's behaviour is wrong" (α = .71). Perceived damage of the transgression on the image of the outgroup was assessed with the following three statements: "With his conduct, Tim casts a slur upon the UvA", "With his conduct, Tim puts the UvA in a bad light", and "With his conduct, Tim puts the UvA at a disadvantage" (α = .72). Affective evaluation of the outgroup was assessed with four statements/questions, e.g., "How do you feel about students of the UvA in general?" (1 =

very negatively, 7 = *very positively*). We asked these questions twice, one time before and one time after the reaction manipulation. After the first three items were reverse coded, all items were averaged into a reliable scale (α = .88 for the first, and α = .89 for the second measure).

3.6 Results & Conclusions

Manipulation checks

Manipulation checks were analyzed by two-way ANOVA's over the full 2 (Typicality: typical vs. nontypical) × 2 (Reaction: approval vs. disapproval) design. On perceived typicality of the transgressor, only a main affect of Typicality was found: Participants who read about the typical transgressor (M = 43.53, SD = 37.58) considered the distance between the transgressor and the centre of his group to be smaller than did participants who read about the nontypical transgressor (M = 102.79, SD = 43.02), F (1, 96) = 52.36, p < .001, η^2 = .35. On perceived approval of the spokesman, only a main effect of Reaction was found: Participants who read about the group approving of the transgressor agreed (M = 4.76, SD = 1.87) more with the statement that the spokesman approved of the transgressor's behaviour than did participants who read about the group disapproving of the transgressor (M = 1.62, SD = .78), F (1, 96) = 117.65, p < .001, η^2 = .55. These data show that both manipulations were successful.

Evaluation/impact of transgression

One-Sample t-tests with the scale's midpoint (i.e., 4.00) as test value, showed that participants perceived the transgressor's conduct as an actual transgression (M = 6.12, SD = .84; t [99] = 25.17, p < .001), and considered it to be harmful to the image of the outgroup (M = 5.53, SD = 1.08; t [99] = 14.13, p < .001). No main- or interaction effects of Typicality and/or Reaction were found.

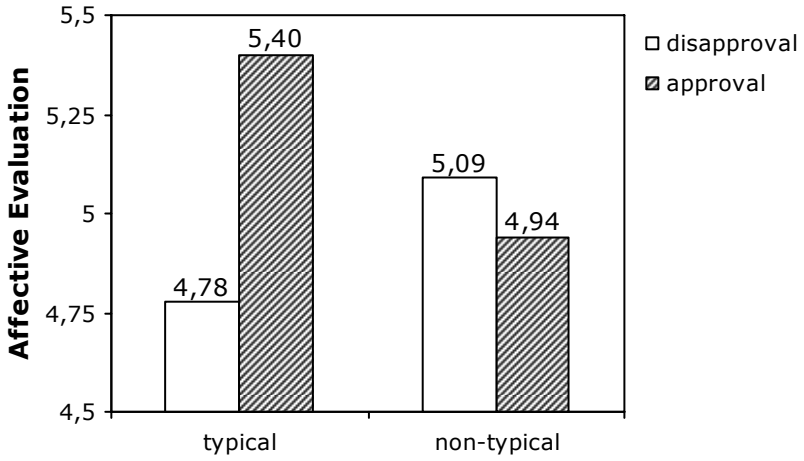
Affective evaluation of the outgroup

ANCOVA on affective evaluation of the outgroup as measured at Time 2 with affective evaluation of the outgroup as measured at Time 1 entered as a covariate yielded the expected interaction effect of Typicality and Reaction, F (1, 95) = 7.53, p < .01, η^2 = .07.[2] The adjusted means are presented in Figure 3.2. Tests for the simple main effects of Reaction within each level of Typicality showed that approval of a typical outgroup

[2] A repeated measures analysis with affective evaluation of the outgroup (Time 1 and Time 2) as the two levels of within-subjects factor yielded a comparable three-way interaction of Time, Typicality, and Reaction (F [1, 96] = 5.31, p < .05, η^2 = .05).

transgressor led to more positive affective evaluations of the outgroup than did disapproval, F (1, 95) = 9.56, p < .01, η^2 = .09. No effect of Reaction on affective evaluation of the outgroup was found in the nontypical outgroup transgressor condition, F (1, 95) < 1, *ns*.

Figure 3.2 - *Affective evaluation of the outgroup as a function of transgressor typicality and outgroup reaction (Study 3.2).*



In sum, we can conclude that the data of Study 3.2 support Hypothesis 1: The effect of outgroup reaction to a transgressing outgroup member on people's affective evaluations of this outgroup was moderated by typicality of the outgroup transgressor. The pattern of the interactions was in the expected direction: Participants made significantly more positive outgroup evaluations if the outgroup approved instead of disapproved of a typical outgroup transgressor. No significant effect of outgroup reaction on outgroup evaluations was found in the nontypical condition. The direction of this non-significant effect however, was in the same direction as it was in Study 3.1.

3.7 Study 3.3

Studies 3.1 and 3.2 generally supported the idea that the presence of a transgressing typical member within a relevant outgroup contributes to positive intergroup differentiation: The outgroup can easily be associated with the negative characteristics of this transgressor, who is considered a typical member of the group, which makes the ingroup stand out in a relatively positive way. When the outgroup decides to approve of this transgressing member, thereby maintaining the image of the outgroup as it indirectly benefits the ingroup, it will receive relatively positive affective evaluations by the ingroup.

If the association of a relevant outgroup with norm-breaking behaviour positively affects the relative standing of one's group, resulting in a positive affective evaluation of this outgroup, then one would expect the opposite to occur when the transgression is committed by a member of the *ingroup*. That is, the presence of a transgressing typical member within the *own* group should have a negative effect on the ingroup's relative standing vis-à-vis a relevant outgroup. Literature on the *Black Sheep Effect* (e.g., Marques, Yzerbyt, & Lyens, 1988; Marques & Paez, 1994) demonstrates that people evaluate unlikeable ingroup members more negatively than equally unlikeable outgroup members. Van Prooijen (2006) showed that, in case of indisputable guilt, people display more severe retributive reactions to ingroup offenders than to outgroup offenders. These more extreme reactions to (unlikeable) ingroup members stem from the fact that these members contribute to the group's social identity in a negative way. As Branscombe, Wann, Noel, and Coleman (1993, p. 386) put it: "Among persons who care a great deal about the group membership at stake, a disloyal in-group member represents a threat to that identity and must be rejected to protect or bolster the value of that social identity".

If the direct association between one's own group and norm-breaking behaviour of a fellow group member lowers the relative standing of one's group, thereby evoking negative feelings among the ingroup, then this effect will likely be most pronounced when transgressions are committed by those group members who most strongly embody ingroup norms. *Typical* group members are particularly capable of contributing to intergroup differentiation (Hogg, 1992, 2001a, 2001b). Since typical group members most strongly represent the group's norms, the presence of a transgressing typical ingroup member can be expected to more strongly hinder positive intergroup differentiation than the presence of a transgressing *nontypical* ingroup member. Unequivocal approval of the ingroup towards a transgressing typical ingroup member will only strengthen the association between the norm-breaking behaviour and the ingroup, thereby hindering positive intergroup differentiation and resulting in a negative affective evaluation of the ingroup. Since nontypical members do not contribute to intergroup differentiation to the same extent, we expect people to be more lenient to a transgressing *nontypical* ingroup member. As a result, evaluations of the ingroup as a whole will be less influenced by its mode of dealing with a transgressing nontypical ingroup member.

We expected that transgressor typicality (typical vs. nontypical) would moderate the effect of ingroup reaction (approval vs. disapproval) on people’s affective evaluations of the ingroup. More specifically, we hypothesized that participants' affective evaluation of

their own group would be more positive if the ingroup publicly disapproved instead of approved of a typical ingroup transgressor, whereas this effect was expected to be less pronounced when the ingroup dealt with a nontypical ingroup transgressor. As in the previous studies, we expected that transgressor typicality (typical vs. nontypical) would moderate the effect of outgroup reaction (approval vs. disapproval) on people's affective evaluations of the outgroup. More specifically, it was hypothesized that participants' affective evaluations of the outgroup would be more positive if the outgroup publicly approved instead of disapproved of a typical outgroup transgressor, whereas this effect was expected to be less pronounced when the outgroup dealt with a nontypical outgroup transgressor. Taken together, we expected a three-way interaction: Group membership of the transgressor (ingroup vs. outgroup) was expected to moderate the interaction of transgressor typicality (typical vs. nontypical) and group reaction (approval vs. disapproval; *Hypothesis 2*).

3.8 Method

Participants and Design

Participants were 154 students from the VU University Amsterdam (90 women, 63 men, one unknown). Their mean age was 20.32 years (*SD* = 2.98). The design constituted a 2 (Group: ingroup versus outgroup) × 2 (Typicality: typical versus nontypical) × 2 (Reaction: approval versus disapproval) between-subjects factorial design. Participants were paid two Euros for their participation and were randomly assigned to one of the eight conditions.

Materials and Procedure

The materials and procedure of this experiment were similar to that of Study 3.2, with a few exceptions, as discussed in the following. In Study 3.3, we categorized participants as university students (versus students of the school for higher vocational education, who were categorized as the outgroup). Participants were asked to read a press article about a tracking competition between a university team (i.e., the ingroup) and a higher vocational education team (i.e., the outgroup), both consisting of four students. To the participants in the ingroup condition, Tim (i.e., the transgressor) was described as a typical (*typical condition*) or a nontypical (*nontypical condition*) university student. To the participants in the outgroup condition, Tim was described as a typical (*typical condition*) or a nontypical (*nontypical condition*) higher vocational education student. Next, participants read about Tim committing fraud by breaking into the editorial staff's computer system, and thereby getting hold of data that would be used for the quiz. For the participants in the approval condition, the spokesman's statement read as follows:

"The university/school for higher vocational education watches the event with amusement and doesn't see any reason to distance itself from suchlike incidents". For the participants in the disapproval condition, the spokesman's statement read as follows: "The university/school for higher vocational education greatly regrets this event and does not want to be associated with suchlike incidents".

Unless reported otherwise, all questions were asked using a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). By means of the same measure as was used in Study 3.2, participants could indicate where they saw the outgroup transgressor (displayed as a movable cross) in relation to his group (displayed as a circle). The effectiveness of the manipulation of reaction was checked by asking participants to indicate their agreement with the statement: "The university/school of higher vocational education spokesman disapproves of Tim's behaviour". Perceived damage of the transgression on the image of the outgroup was assessed with three statements, e.g., "With his conduct, Tim puts the university/school for higher vocational education at a disadvantage" ($\alpha = .75$). In order to assess affective evaluation of the in- or outgroup, we used the four items "How do you feel about the university/school for higher vocational education in general?", and "How do you feel about university/higher vocational education students in general?" (1 = *very negatively*, 7 = *very positively* for both items), "I have positive feelings towards the university/school for higher vocational education ", and "I have positive feelings toward university/higher vocational education students". We asked these questions twice, one time before ($\alpha = .90$) and one time after ($\alpha = .94$) the reaction manipulation.

3.9 Results & Conclusions

Manipulation checks

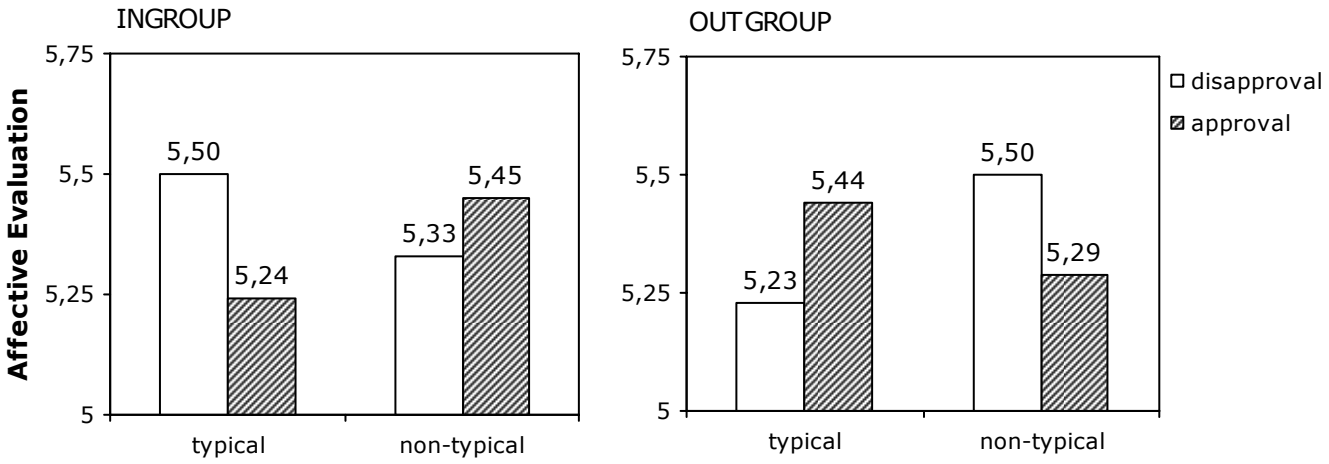
Manipulation checks were analyzed by three-way ANOVA's over the full 2 (Group: outgroup vs. ingroup) $\times$ 2 (Typicality: typical vs. nontypical) $\times$ 2 (Reaction: approval vs. disapproval) design. Perceived typicality of the transgressor yielded a main effect of Typicality: Participants who read about the typical transgressor ($M = 43.55$, $SD = 33.72$) considered the distance between the transgressor and the centre of his group to be smaller than did participants who read about the nontypical transgressor ($M = 78.01$, $SD = 30.00$), $F\ (1,146) = 44.87$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .24$. On perceived disapproval of the spokesman, a main effect of Reaction was found: Participants who read about the group disapproving of the transgressor ($M = 6.12$, $SD = 1.34$) agreed more with the statement that the spokesman disapproved of the transgressor's behaviour than did participants

who read about the group approving of the transgressor (M = 4.62, SD = 1.86), F (1,146) = 32.72, p < .001, η^2 = .18. The data show that the manipulations were successful.

Evaluation/impact of transgression

A One-Sample t-test with the scale's midpoint (i.e., 4.00) as test value, showed that participants considered the transgressor's conduct to be harmful to the image of the outgroup (M = 5.72, SD = 1.20; t [154] = 17.74, p < .001). No main- or interaction effects of Typicality and/or Reaction were found.

Figure 3.3 - *Affective evaluation of the (in- or out)group as a function of group membership of the transgressor, transgressor typicality, and group reaction (Study 3.3).*



Affective evaluation of the group

ANCOVA on affective evaluation of the group as measured at Time 2 with affective evaluation of the group as measured at Time 1 as a covariate yielded the expected interaction effect of Group, Typicality and Reaction, F (1,145) = 8.17, p < .01, η^2 = .05.[3] The adjusted means are presented in Figure 3.3. Tests for the simple interaction effects of Typicality and Reaction within each level of Group revealed significant interactions in both the outgroup and the ingroup condition. In the outgroup condition, approval of a typical outgroup transgressor led to more positive affective evaluations of the outgroup than did disapproval, whereas disapproval of a nontypical outgroup transgressor led to more positive affective evaluations of the outgroup than did approval, F (1, 145) = 4.32, p < .05, η^2 = .03. In the ingroup condition, the pattern was reversed: Disapproval of a typical ingroup transgressor led to more positive affective evaluations of the ingroup

[3] A repeated measures analysis with affective evaluation of the outgroup (Time 1 and Time 2) as the two levels of within-subjects factor yielded a comparable four-way interaction of Time, Group, Typicality, and Reaction (F [1, 146] = 8.23, p < .001, η^2 = .05).

than did approval, whereas approval of a nontypical ingroup transgressor led to more positive affective evaluations of the ingroup than did disapproval, F (1, 145) = 3.84, p = .05, η^2 = .03. No significant simple main effects of Reaction were found. In sum, we can conclude that the data of Study 3.3 provide support for Hypothesis 2.

3.10 General Discussion

Across three studies we found support for our hypothesis that transgressor typicality (typical vs. nontypical) moderates the effect of outgroup reaction (approval vs. disapproval) on people's affective evaluations of the outgroup. Although in all three studies the overall interaction pattern is significant and in the expected direction, between the studies the two trends that make up this interaction pattern differ in strength. To conduct a more powerful test of the predicted effect of Reaction within the typical conditions, and to investigate the meaningfulness of the observed reversed trend of Reaction within the nontypical conditions, we examined the effect size of Reaction on Outgroup evaluation in two separate meta-analyses within both the *typical* and the *nontypical* condition across the three studies. The effect size of the interaction of Typicality and Reaction was highly significant, F = .507, Z = 13.512, p < .001. The effect size of Reaction within a meta-analysis over the *typical* conditions was also highly significant, F = .591, Z = 3.187, p = .001. The effect size of Reaction within a meta-analysis over the *nontypical* conditions was significant as well, F = .453, Z = 2.482, p < .05. Taken together, these data show that participants' affective evaluations of the outgroup were more positive if the outgroup publicly approved instead of disapproved of a typical outgroup transgressor. Moreover, participants' affective evaluation of the outgroup was more positive if the outgroup publicly disapproved instead of approved of a nontypical outgroup transgressor.

The three studies presented here consistently demonstrate that the way a group deals with a transgressing group member (approval vs. disapproval) influences the way this group is perceived by outsiders, and the degree to which the transgressor is typical for the group (typical vs. nontypical) is a major determinant in the question whether the group is evaluated more positively when it approves or disapproves of the transgressor. More specifically: The data provide evidence for the hypothesis that people evaluate a relevant outgroup more positively when it openly approves (rather than disapproves) of a transgressing *typical* member.

The data also show that people evaluate a relevant outgroup more positively when it openly disapproves (rather than approves) of a transgressing *nontypical* member.

Nontypical outgroup transgressors are able to contribute to positive intergroup differentiation to a lesser degree (or not at all), which gave rise to the expectation that outgroup reaction to a transgressing *nontypical* outgroup member (compared to a transgressing typical outgroup member) would have a less distinct effect on people's affective evaluations towards this outgroup. Data from the three present studies indeed demonstrate that the more positive evaluation the outgroup received when it approved (rather than disapproved) of a transgressing *typical* group member, did not follow upon the approval of a transgressing *nontypical* member. Compared to the effect of outgroup reaction on outgroup evaluation in the typical condition, the effect even reversed in the nontypical condition: Outgroup disapproval of a transgressing nontypical outgroup member evoked more positive evaluations from outsiders than outgroup approval.

This is an interesting finding, for apparently other considerations lay the foundation of outgroup evaluation when social identity concerns are less prominent. The question rises what mechanism may account for the finding that, under some conditions (i.e., when the transgressor is a nontypical group member) the outgroup is evaluated more positively when it disapproves rather than approves of a transgressing member. What we know from the literature in the domain of justice research is that rule-breakers violate people's normative sense of justice, resulting in strong negative moral emotions towards the offender (van Prooijen, 2009). As a consequence, people generally want to see offenders get punished for their bad behaviour, preferably proportionate to the moral wrong committed (Carlsmith, Darley, & Robinson, 2002). The fact that even in very young children the motivation to see rule-breakers get punished can be observed (Darley, Klosson, & Zanna, 1978), suggests a strong intrinsic drive. Punishment of offenders is very important to people and often even outweighs the alternative of forgiveness (Darley & Pittman, 2003; van Prooijen, 2006, 2009).

This justice-based argument is compatible with the data that indicate that, in evaluating a relevant outgroup, disapproval rather than approval of a transgressing nontypical member evokes the most positive evaluations from outsiders. In the case of relatively *moderate* offences (i.e., the fraud we described in the current studies), people's punishment intentions are more prone to social factors than in the case of *severe* offences (i.e., rape or murder; Rucker, Polifroni, Tetlock, & Scott, 2004; van Prooijen & Lam, 2007). In the case of severe offences, people's sense of justice makes that they want to see the offender get punished by his/her fellow members, irrespective of this' offender's degree of typicality for the group. In the case of mild offences however, social identity concerns that arise when dealing with deviant *typical* members may 'overrule' the need to see offenders get punished. Therefore, we may have found a different

pattern of effects of outgroup reaction on affective evaluation of the outgroup for nontypical and typical outgroup offenders. Future research that would add 'severity of the transgression' to the present design, and would include measures with regard to justice based and social identity based concerns, may provide more insight into possible mediating factors into the process.

The present research is interesting for it is one of the first to examine the effect of a group's reaction to a transgressing member on the way this group is perceived by outsiders. Recent work by van Leeuwen and colleagues (van Leeuwen et al., 2009) also investigated the effectiveness of a group's strategy in dealing with a deviant member, in terms of how this group is perceived by outsiders. In a series of studies, they presented participants with a news article about a social group to which the participants themselves did not belong. The article reported that this outgroup did or did not (manipulated between participants) openly distance itself from a group member who had committed a moral transgression (i.e., making a racist comment). The results showed that when the outgroup did not distance itself from this negative deviant, participants evaluated the outgroup as a whole more in terms of the negative characteristics of the deviant (i.e., being racist) than when the deviant was (publicly) rejected. In other words: By embracing the transgressor, the outgroup could easily be associated with his behaviour, which can lead people to perceive this group in a negative way.

Although the results that are described this chapter are replicated nicely across three studies, more empirical evidence for the underlying process would more convincingly validate our reasoning. It would be interesting to conduct additional research, thereby adopting the paradigm that we used across the three existing studies, supplemented by a variable that measures feelings of, or perceived, positive ingroup differentiation. If our reasoning is correct, the same pattern of effects would be found on this dependent measure and moreover, this measure should mediate the current pattern of effects on affective evaluation towards the outgroup. Furthermore, an extra measure after peoples' affective evaluation of *the situation in general* might offer more insight into the exact focus of their satisfaction. Given this paradigm, we can not completely rule out the possibility that perceivers actually experienced the situation in itself as more or less positive or negative - something we unintentionally might have captured with the dependent measure concerning affective evaluation of the outgroup. Are, for example, participants in the critical condition rating the outgroup more positively because they have no other outlet to express their positive emotion? Future research including additional dependent measures might provide more insight into the underlying theoretical process.

However, results from the present studies demonstrated that the link between an outgroup and norm-violating behaviour by one of its members can also evoke a positive response among ingroup members. Apparently, associating an outgroup with a negative event does not need to result in an unequivocally negative judgement of the ingroup. In fact, this conclusion is supported by research on intergroup schadenfreude (Leach, Spears, Branscombe, & Doosje, 2003; Spears & Leach 2004; Leach & Spears, 2008), which has demonstrated that people can find pleasure in the misfortune of a rival outgroup. In settings where intergroup comparisons are easily made, outgroup disapproval of a typical outgroup offender weakens the association of the outgroup with the unfortunate event, whereas outgroup approval will only reinforce it. Since this association boosts the ingroup's relative standing towards the outgroup, outgroup approval following the misstep of a typical outgroup member will elicit positive feelings among the ingroup.

Furthermore, the studies in the current manuscript include only conditions in which a group member has committed a transgression. However, it would also be interesting to investigate how member typicality and outgroup reaction together affect people's affective evaluations of the outgroup, if an outgroup member has behaved in a manner that reflects *positively* on the outgroup. If a group indirectly benefits from a relevant outgroup approving of a typical outgroup member who has committed a (mild) transgression, than the opposite effect could be expected when the association of the outgroup with honourable behaviour (as displayed by one of its members) is even further reinforced by the outgroup approving of it. Future research demonstrating that outgroup validation (versus invalidation) of a charitable typical outgroup member leads to relatively negative affective evaluations of the outgroup, may further strengthen the point that is made in this paper (i.e., that a link exists between positive intergroup differentiation and outgroup evaluation).

A tentative conclusion of the current research is that, in order to preserve one's standing as a group in relation to a relevant outgroup, one should explicitly disapprove of norm violating behaviour of a prominent group member. By openly distancing one's group from the pernicious behaviour of a member who strongly embodies the group's norms, the group will preserve their immaculate status. Will outgroup disapproval of a transgressing prominent outgroup member always lead to the most spotless image? It is plausible to think of situations where disapproval of a transgressing prominent member may not be the most sensible thing to do for the outgroup in order to preserve their high regard. For example, if the wrongdoing is relatively mild, and/or the group's punishment is disproportionably heavy, the suggestion of intragroup disloyalty is lurking. Loyalty

among group members is considered very important (Hornsey et. al, 2005; Branscombe, Wann, Noel, and Coleman, 1993; van Leeuwen et al., 2009; van der Lee, van Leeuwen, & Hopman, 2009), and violation of this form of group cohesiveness is unlikely to stay without consequences. Rejecting a member who has delivered an important contribution to the group might be interpreted as the group being unsupportive of its members. Not only can sheer rejection of a prominent group member be harmful to the group as it can be viewed as an act of intragroup disloyalty, it can also harm the group because prominent members may provide the group with valuable resources (e.g., means, knowledge), which are withdrawn from the group as the member leaves the group (a problem also known as the 'exit problem'; van Vugt & Hart, 2004). Thus, for several reasons, the benefit of openly rejecting a transgressing prominent group member might not outweigh the costs.

An efficient alternative way of dealing with a prominent transgressor may be one that combines both the advantage of transgressor rejection (i.e., breaking the association between the group and the transgression) and transgressor approval (i.e., displaying intragroup loyalty and preserve all the group's resources), namely group apology. Van Leeuwen and colleagues (van Leeuwen et al., 2009) showed that when a group as a whole apologizes for a transgression by one of its members, outsiders perceive this group less in terms of the negative characteristics of the transgressor, and perceive the group to be loyal (relative to when the group bluntly rejects the transgressor). Although the option of group apology may not always be the most favourable one (i.e., admitting blame might, in legal cases for instance, be followed by the claim for some form of financial compensation), it often combines the best of two 'extremes', and is therefore worth considering.

How factors as transgressor typicality, prior investments by the transgressor in the group, and indebted group-to-member loyalty relate to each other might be an intriguing point of interest for future research. In addition, future research could focus on how these factors, together with seriousness of the transgression, mode of dealing with the transgressor and gravity of the possible punishment, combine to affect the evaluation of that group by its own members and by outsiders.

- CHAPTER 4 -

Who Do We Inform?
The Role of Status and Target
in Intergroup Whistle-blowing[4]

4.1 Introduction

Negative information about a single member of a relevant outgroup can affect the image of the outgroup as a whole (van Leeuwen, van den Bosch, Castano, & Hopman, 2009), and may thereby enhance the ingroup's relative standing. Especially when the ingroup's relative standing is at stake, people may enjoy information that harms the outgroup's image. To illustrate, talking negatively about rivalling others often serves as a status-enhancing mechanism, and particularly focuses on high status others (McAndrew & Milenkovic, 2002). The aim of the research presented in this paper is to validate the assumption that ingroup status and ingroup identification together affect (a) the degree to which people consider it an act of loyalty to the ingroup to share exclusive and damaging outgroup information with the ingroup or with the outgroup (Study 4.1), and (b) the degree to which people actively engage in sharing this kind of information with their ingroup or the outgroup (Study 4.2). This paper is one of the first to examine the phenomenon of whistle-blowing (i.e., informing others about an illicit activity) within an explicit intergroup context. Before reporting the two studies, we first summarize the relevant literature on social identity, identity threat, and whistle-blowing.

Social identity theory and threat

According to Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner, 1999; Abrams & Hogg, 1990) and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), people derive part of their self-concept from the groups to which they belong, and may differ in the extent to which membership of these groups is important to them, or to which they *identify* with these different groups. People are more likely to think and act in terms of a group membership, the more they identify with this group (Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1999; p. 85). Generally, people want to be part of groups that are positively evaluated, since membership of these groups provides them with a positive social identity. The best way to realize such a positive

[4] This chapter is based on Hopman & van Leeuwen (2009).

social identity is through intergroup differentiation: Standing out, as a group, as much as possible against a salient outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

One way of achieving this desired positive intergroup differentiation, is to stress the importance of ingroup norms, which represent the behaviours or features that members should adopt and that maintain distinctiveness from the outgroup (Turner et al., 1987). The association of one's group with norm violating behaviour is therefore particularly damaging, since it threatens the ingroup's image, and thereby its relative standing (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). For example, it was demonstrated that a group is readily perceived in terms of the negative characteristics of a transgressing group member (van Leeuwen et al., 2009). One could argue that people who care highly for their group membership (i.e., members who strongly identify with this group) are most likely to experience negativity when confronted with these kinds of social identity threats (Dietz-Uhler, 1999), and therefore are most likely to react in defensive ways (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). Strongly identifying members are thus likely to tackle fellow ingroup members who, by engaging in illicit or norm violating behaviour, put the ingroup's standing at stake.

Reporting transgressions within groups

The act of exposing a transgressor is termed *whistle-blowing*. The Concise Oxford English Dictionary (Soanes & Stevenson, 2004) defines whistle-blowing as the act of "bringing (an illicit activity) to an end by informing on the person responsible". People's inclination to blow the whistle on a transgression becomes stronger as they perceive that doing so will result in change to rectify it (Masser & Brown, 1996). By repairing a mistake, a group may be able to protect its integrity and maintain its standing vis-à-vis relevant outgroups. Whistle-blowing to the ingroup (i.e., reporting the misconduct to fellow group members) can be very constructive, since it offers the group the opportunity to restore the damage, while preventing relevant outgroups to benefit from any negative ingroup information. Research has shown that ingroup criticism is likely to be evaluated as socially acceptable and conventional, as well as legitimate and constructive, so long as it can be perceived as a suggestion for improvement (Hornsey, Oppes, & Svensson, 2002; Hornsey & Imani, 2004). However, this constructive effect of criticism only occurs when the group is criticized to an exclusively ingroup audience, and not when the group is criticized in front of an outgroup audience (Hornsey at al., 2005; Elder, Sutton, & Douglas, 2005; Ariyanto, Hornsey, & Gallois, 2006). Reporting an ingroup misconduct to outside persons or authorities is a violation of the implicit rule that group members should never criticize their own group to outsiders. By doing so, the

critic is seen to do unnecessary damage to the relative standing of the group (Hornsey et al., 2005).

Reporting transgressions between groups

In this paper, we argue that if negative information about one's group *harms* the ingroup's relative standing, then negative information about a relevant outgroup may *enhance* the ingroup's positive standing. This notion is supported by the finding that outgroup members who undermine the positive distinctiveness of the outgroup are evaluated more positively than outgroup members who promote this distinctiveness (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998). Research on schadenfreude (Leach, Spears, Branscombe, & Doosje, 2003; Spears & Leach, 2004; Leach & Spears, 2008) shows that people tend to enjoy the misfortune suffered by an outgroup - especially in domains important to group identity. Research on gossip furthermore teaches us that people tend to enjoy, and share, negative information about rival others (McAndrew, Bell, & Garcia, 2007), and even actively seek exploitable, damaging information about non-allies (McAndrew & Milenkovic, 2002). According to these authors, negative talk about others may serve both the interests of individuals and groups. In their striving for positive distinctiveness, groups can thus benefit from outgroups that are portrayed in an unfavourable way (Tajfel, 1982). Based on the previous, we propose that people consider it more loyal to the ingroup if a fellow ingroup member, who exclusively possesses negative information about an outgroup, exposes this useful information to the ingroup than to the outgroup. Put differently: An ingroup member informing the ingroup of an outgroup transgression may be perceived as being more loyal to the ingroup than an ingroup member informing the outgroup of this fact.

The tendency to enjoy negative information about a relevant outgroup is particularly pronounced among people who's social identity is at stake. Research has shown that when people feel that their group is threatened by another group in a domain relevant to its social identity, they are likely to take pleasure in possible misfortune suffered by that outgroup (Leach et al., 2003; Spears & Leach, 2004; Leach & Spears, 2008). When another group represents an esteem threat to an important identity, actively portraying that group in an unfavourable light may be a successful strategy by which group members repair their damaged self-esteem (Oakes & Turner, 1980; Lemyre & Smith, 1985; Branscombe & Wann, 1992, 1994). It was also shown that strongly identifying group members repair damage to their self-esteem by adopting a negative attitude towards a relevant outgroup (Florack, Scarabis, & Gosejohann, 2005).

Sharing negative information about higher status outgroups may not only boost self-esteem, but also result in attempts to change the status difference. When the lower status position of one's group is perceived as illegitimate, people are inclined to encourage their peers to view this low status position as unwarranted and ultimately engage in collective action (Ellemers, Wilke, & van Knippenberg, 1993; Klandermans, 1997; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Discussing a transgression within the ranks of a higher status outgroup might help to question the legitimacy of the existing status difference, and could thus be seized upon as a means of destabilizing and revising the status quo.

Members of low status groups have an additional reason for not informing the outgroup of its transgression directly, namely the fact that blowing the whistle to the outgroup would offer the outgroup the opportunity to take immediate reparative action. If the outgroup is informed about the transgressions of one of its members, it may have the opportunity to correct the problem, for example by openly distancing itself from the transgressing member (van Leeuwen et al., 2009). By not sharing the damaging information, members of low status groups effectively deny the higher status group the opportunity to restore their superior status which could put the low status groups at an even greater disadvantage.

Based on the previous, we expect that members of low status groups should be more likely to seize damaging outgroup information in order to talk negatively about this outgroup (i.e., sharing it with fellow members) than to throw it into the outgroup's lap (i.e., whistle-blowing to the outgroup). Moreover, this tendency will become more pronounced as these members more strongly identify with their group.

In contrast to members of low status groups, members of higher status groups are less in need for damaging outgroup information in order to acquire and maintain a respected identity, and are therefore less likely to talk with each other about the lower status outgroup in a negative way. In fact, since higher status entities (e.g., the police, parents, teachers) are generally more authorized to reprimand or correct lower status entities (e.g., civilians, children, pupils, respectively) than vice versa, a member of a higher status group who is aware of an outgroup transgression may seize the opportunity of directly policing this outgroup. Moreover, by actively reprimanding a lower status outgroup on its illicit activities, high status groups could further validate the legitimacy of the existing intergroup distinction in favour of the ingroup. High status group members can therefore be expected to behave in a way that reinforces their status by encouraging the lower status group to see its lowly position as warranted. We expect that members of

high status groups are more likely to directly confront the outgroup with their misbehaviour (i.e., informing the outgroup), than to share it with their fellow group members. Here too, we expect this tendency to be pronounced as people define themselves more strongly in terms of their group membership and care more highly for their group's standing.

The current studies

The existing research on whistle-blowing has mainly been conducted in organizational and intragroup settings (e.g., Near & Miceli, 1985, 1986, 1995; van der Lee, van Leeuwen, & Hopman, 2009). Since having the exclusive disposal of damaging information about rival others can be highly advantageous in settings where groups strive to boost or repair their relative standing, the current research will focus on *intergroup* whistle-blowing, i.e., on informing others about wrongs within a relevant outgroup. In the current research we will examine the combined effect of ingroup status, choice of target, and ingroup identification on the degree to which people perceive a whistle-blowing fellow group member as being loyal to the ingroup, and on their readiness to blow the whistle themselves. Within settings where the ingroup's status is *lower* than that of a relevant outgroup, we expect strongly identifying group members to consider whistle-blowing to the ingroup as more loyal to their group than whistle-blowing to the outgroup, and to engage more in whistle-blowing to the ingroup than to the outgroup. Within settings where the ingroup's status is *higher* than that of a relevant outgroup, we expect strongly identifying group members to consider whistle-blowing to the outgroup as more loyal to their group than whistle-blowing to the ingroup, and to engage more in whistle-blowing to the outgroup than to the ingroup. Since people are more affected by group based information (i.e., ingroup status), and are more likely to engage in group-based responses the more they identify with this group (Doosje et al., 1999; p. 85), we expect ingroup status and target to affect perceived group member loyalty and frequency of whistle-blowing primarily among strongly identifying group members.

4.2 Study 4.1

In Study 4.1, participants learned that, on a number of relevant traits, their group scored lower (low status) or higher (high status) than an outgroup. People were then presented with a text describing a situation in which a fellow ingroup member exposed an outgroup transgression to either the ingroup or the outgroup. The main dependent variable was the extent to which the whistle-blower's action was considered an act of loyalty to the ingroup, which we will subsequently refer to as 'perceived loyalty'. We

expected that among members of a *low status* group, whistle-blowing to the ingroup on an outgroup transgression would lead to higher levels of perceived loyalty than whistle-blowing to the outgroup. We further expected that, among members of a *high status* group, whistle-blowing to the outgroup would lead to higher levels of perceived loyalty than whistle-blowing to the ingroup. We expected this effect to be most pronounced among high identifiers.

4.3 Method

Participants and Design

Participants were 87 students from the VU University Amsterdam (hereafter referred to as 'VU'; 62 women, 25 men). Their mean age was 21.01 years (*SD* = 3.49). The design constituted a 2 (Status: low versus high) × 2 (Target: ingroup versus outgroup) between-subjects factorial design. Participants were paid for their participation and were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions.

Materials and Procedure

The experiment was run on personal computers. First, participants' degree of identification with the ingroup (i.e., the VU) was measured with four items, e.g., "I feel strong ties with VU students" (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; α = .86). Participants were then presented with the outcome of a large-scale survey about the quality of the leading Dutch universities. People read how the VU and the University of Amsterdam (i.e., the outgroup, hereafter referred to as 'UvA')[5] were rated on seven points (e.g., facilities, teaching, and communication; all displayed on a 10-point scale). The VU's mean rating was either lower (6.7; *low status condition*) or higher (7.9; *high status condition*) than the mean rating of the UvA (7.9 and 6.7, respectively). Participants were then presented with a text describing a situation in which a fellow ingroup member (i.e., a VU student whom we will further refer to as 'X') accidentally discovered pornographic images of underaged girls on the computer of an outgroup member (i.e., an UvA student whom we will further refer to as 'Y'). X subsequently reported this to his own mentor at the VU (*ingroup condition*) or to Y's mentor at the UvA (*outgroup condition*). Finally, a brief questionnaire was administered.

Unless reported otherwise, all questions were asked using a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The effectiveness of the manipulation of

[5] The VU and the UvA are the only two universities in Amsterdam and can be considered rivalling - this categorization has been successfully employed in earlier research (e.g., Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 2001).

status was checked by asking participants to answer the following three questions twice (i.e., once with respect to the VU and once with respect to the UvA): "How do you consider the VU/UvA's standing?", "How do you perceive the VU/UvA's qualities?", and "How do you perceive the VU/UvA's status?" (1 = *very low*, 7 = *very high* for all). For each item, a difference-score was obtained by subtracting the outgroup rating from the ingroup rating, which added up to a reliable 3-item scale (α = .82). The effectiveness of the target manipulation was assessed with the question: "To whom did X direct himself with the information about Y's computer files?" (1 = *his own mentor at the VU*, 2 = *Y's mentor at the UvA*). The degree to which people perceived the whistle-blower to be loyal to the ingroup was assessed by asking participants to indicate their agreement with the statements "I think X wants the best for the VU", "I think X has good intentions towards the VU", and "I think X is loyal to the VU" (α = .92). Upon finishing, participants were thanked and debriefed.

4.4 Results and Discussion

Manipulation checks

A two-way ANOVA on perceived relative status of the ingroup over the full 2 (Status: low versus high) × 2 (Target: ingroup versus outgroup) design only yielded a main effect of Status: Participants in the *high* status condition (M = 0.81, SD = 1.36) considered the relative status of their ingroup vis-à-vis the outgroup to be higher than participants in the *low* status condition (M = 0.06, SD = 1.30), F (1,83) = 6.71, p = .01, η^2 = .08. Without exception, participants correctly recalled the target (i.e., ingroup or outgroup) to which X revealed the outgroup transgression. These data show that both manipulations were successful.

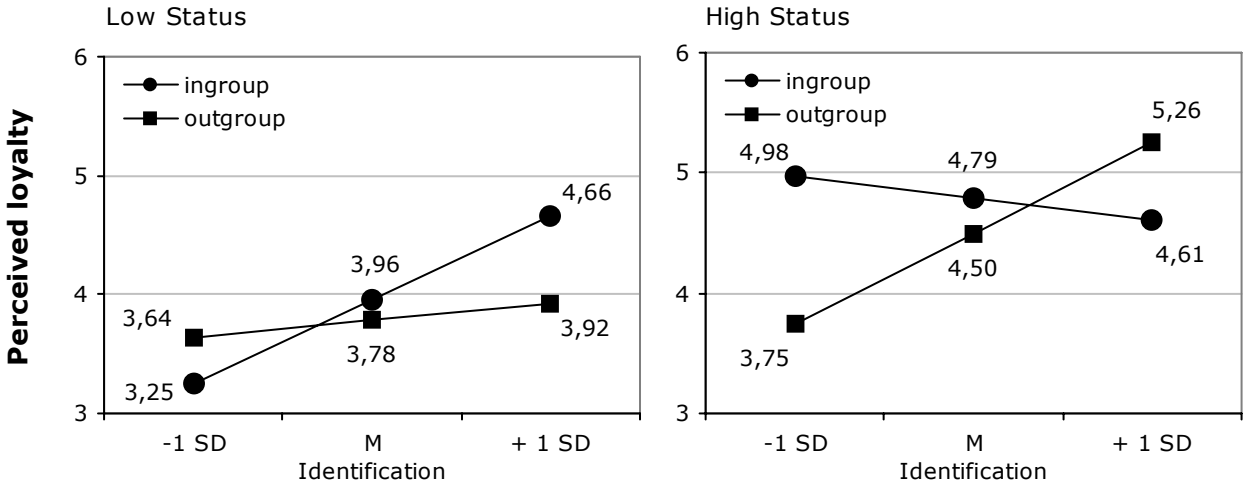
Perceived loyalty

A regression-analysis was conducted with Identification[6] (centred around M), Target, Status (both dummy coded), and all possible interaction terms as predictors. The degree to which people considered the whistle-blower to be loyal to the ingroup was inserted as the dependent variable. Cell means for weakly (-1 SD), averagely (M), and strongly (+1 SD) identifying people are presented in Figure 4.1. The analysis yielded a main effect of Identification: People more strongly considered the whistle-blower to be loyal to the

[6] A two-way ANOVA over the full 2 (Status: low versus high) × 2 (Target: ingroup versus outgroup) design with ingroup identification as dependent variable yielded neither a main effect of Status (F [1, 83] = .02, p = .90), nor a main effect of Target (F [1, 83] = .02, p = .89), or an interaction effect (F [1, 83] = 2.82, p = .10), from which could be deduced that the mean level of identification (M = 4.21, SD = 1.29) did not coincidentally vary across the four experimental conditions.

ingroup the more they identified with the ingroup, β = 0.25, *t*(83) = 2.47, *p* = .02. Since harmful outgroup information serves the ingroup's social identity, strongly identifying group members in particular will recognize the act of blowing the whistle on this information as loyalty to the ingroup.

Figure 4.1 - *Perceived loyalty of whistle-blowing on an outgroup transgression as a function of ingroup status, target, and identification with the ingroup (Study 4.1).*



There was also a main effect of Status: People in a high status group more strongly considered the whistle-blower to be loyal to the ingroup than people in a low status group, β = 0.24, *t*(83) = 2.30, *p* = .02. As mentioned earlier, higher status entities are generally more authorized to reprimand lower status entities than vice versa. Exposing an abuse within the ranks of a higher status outgroup may therefore be considered less fitting, and therefore less loyal, than exposing an abuse within the ranks of a lower status outgroup.

A three way-interaction in the expected direction was found between Identification, Status, and Target, β = 0.55, *t*(79) = 2.19, *p* = .03. As they identified more strongly with their group, people in a low status group perceived whistle-blowing to the ingroup more as an act of loyalty to the ingroup than whistle-blowing to the outgroup, whereas people in a high status group perceived whistle-blowing to the outgroup more as an act of loyalty to the ingroup than whistle-blowing to the ingroup. Simple slope analyses of Identification within each combined level of Status and Target revealed that people in a *low status* group, as they identified more strongly with this group, perceived whistle-blowing to the ingroup (β = 0.20, *t*[79] = 1.96, *p* = .05), but not whistle-blowing to the outgroup (β = 0.04, *t*[79] = 0.35, *p* = .73), as an act of loyalty to the ingroup. People in a *high status* group, as they identified more strongly with their group, perceived whistle-

blowing to the outgroup (β = 0.28, t[79] = 2.72, p = .01), but not whistle-blowing to the ingroup (β = -0.06, t[79] = -0.54, p = .59), as an act of loyalty to the ingroup. These results are in line with the expectations.

In sum, we can conclude that the data of Study 4.1 support the hypothesis: As they identified more strongly with their group, members of a low status group perceived whistle-blowing to the ingroup as more loyal to the ingroup than whistle-blowing to the outgroup, and members of a high status group perceived whistle-blowing to the outgroup as more loyal to the group than whistle-blowing to the ingroup.

4.5 Study 4.2

If the degree to which strongly identifying group members consider whistle-blowing an act of loyalty to the ingroup depends on ingroup status and choice of target of the whistle-blower, then the same factors may well affect people's own tendency to engage in whistle-blowing themselves. In order to test whether people's tendency to blow the whistle on an outgroup transgression is also affected by group status, target, and degree of identification with the ingroup, Study 4.2 was conducted.

Participants learned that, on a number of relevant traits, their group scored lower (low status) or higher (high status) than an outgroup. They then learned that an outgroup member had cheated on a collective group task, and were offered the opportunity to reveal this to their own group or the outgroup. The main dependent variable was whether people informed their own group or the outgroup about the outgroup transgressor. It was expected that ingroup status (low vs. high) would affect the choice of target (ingroup vs. outgroup) when people decide to blow the whistle on an outgroup transgressor. Since people are more likely to think and act in terms of their group membership the more they identify with this group (Doosje et al., 1999; p. 85), we expect ingroup status to affect choice of target primarily among strongly identifying group members. Specifically, we expected that strongly identifying members of a low status group would engage more in whistle-blowing to the ingroup than to the outgroup, and that strongly identifying members of a high status group would engage more in whistle-blowing to the outgroup than to the ingroup. We expected the relation of ingroup status and choice of target to decline as people identify less with their group (*Hypothesis 2*).

4.6 Method

Participants and Design

Participants were 90 students from the VU University Amsterdam (50 women, 40 men). Their mean age was 20.81 years (*SD* = 2.29). The design constituted a between-subjects randomized two-group (Status: low versus high) design. Participants were paid for their participation and were randomly assigned to one of the two conditions.

Materials and Procedure

Upon entering the laboratory, participants were seated in separated cubicles equipped with a personal computer which was used to present instructions and register participants' responses. It was explained in the instructions that the purpose of the experiment was twofold - to acquire more insight into gender differences in performances on certain tasks, and to examine the effect of communication during online group tasks. Participants were told they were part of a virtual group of four same-sex others (i.e., the ingroup) that was, simultaneously with a team of four opposite-sex others (i.e., the outgroup), to perform a number of tasks. Since participants were seated in separate cubicles and would in reality never meet or interact with these in- or outgroup members, the study could be run without the actual presence of other group members (thereby keeping the data independent). It was further explained that, for the purpose of facilitating group communication, during the course of the experiment everyone (i.e.: all in- and outgroup members) would be given a number of opportunities to send a group message via the computer to either their ingroup or their outgroup. Since in reality no other in- or outgroup members were present, participants' messages were never transmitted to others, and the messages they received during the course of the experiment were always pre-programmed (e.g.: *"Hi y'all - I'm Chris. How are you guys doin'? I'm fine!"* and *"I wonder what the next task will be about!"*). At this point, participant's degree of identification with their same-sex gender team was measured with three items, e.g., "I feel strong ties with other members of the (wo)men's team" (α = .80).

The first task was a test on academic mental capacity[7], and was allegedly performed by the members of both teams. After completing the test, participants were presented with

[7] The test consisted of 20 assignments (i.e., multiple choice questions) regarding spatial aptitude and mathematics (on which men are generally considered to outperform women), as well as language (on which women are generally considered to outperform men). An Independent-Samples T-Test showed that altogether, men ($M_{\#CorrectAnswers}$ = 13.35, *SD* = 2.56) and women ($M_{\#CorrectAnswers}$ = 13.30, *SD* = 2.22) performed equally well, $t(88) = .10$, $p = .22$.

bogus feedback regarding their group's overall score on this task. Participants in the *low status condition* learned that their group had scored lower than the outgroup (i.e., 37 vs. 55 points, respectively), and participants in the *high status condition* learned that their group had scored higher than the outgroup (i.e., 55 vs. 37 points, respectively; the maximum amount of points that could be obtained was 80). The second task that was presented was a group brainstorm task. Participants were asked to generate as many solutions to a practical problem (i.e.: "How to promote travelling by means of the public transport system") as they possibly could, within five minutes. Each group member would brainstorm individually, after which the individual performances would be added to create a group productivity score. The goal was to generate more ideas within the ingroup than the outgroup. After five minutes, the participant's individual score appeared on the screen, together with those of the other ingroup and outgroup members. These other scores were only slightly lower or higher than that of the participant, with the exception of one outgroup member, whose score was extraordinarily higher than the rest of the people, thereby clearly boosting the outgroup's total score. In order to correct for brainstorm ideas that might have been mentioned more than once by the same person, it was explained that everyone would be presented with the brainstorm ideas of someone else, chosen randomly. To this end, participants were presented with the results of the extremely high scoring outgroup member and asked to count the amount of times this person had mentioned an idea more than once. In fact, this outgroup member's 'brainstorm ideas' consisted only of nonsense phrases, indicating that s/he had been cheating on the task. At this point, participants were given an opportunity to send a message via the computer to either the ingroup of the outgroup[8]. Participants thus had three behavioural options: They could choose to send a message to the ingroup, to send a message to the outgroup, or not to send a message altogether.

The main dependent variable was participants' choice to inform either the *ingroup* or the *outgroup* about the cheating outgroup member in the computer message. Participants who did *not* send a message were labelled 'non whistle-blower'. The messages of the remaining participants were coded by two independent raters who judged whether or not the outgroup transgression was mentioned in their messages

[8] The participant and the other (fictitious) in- and outgroup members were offered the opportunity to send an online message at the same moment. Since in reality no other in- or outgroup members were present, participants' messages were not transmitted to others, and the messages the participants received were pre-programmed. All messages were shown simultaneously after the last one was posted. This way, any reference of the participant to the outgroup transgression could not have been affected by a communication of another in- or outgroup member.

(resulting in an interrater reliability of r = .97). In the single case where the two raters differently classified a message, they discussed it until agreement was reached. Participants who had sent a message were labelled 'non whistle-blower' if they did not mention the outgroup transgression, 'whistle-blower to ingroup' if they exposed the transgression to the ingroup, and 'whistle-blower to outgroup' if they exposed it to the outgroup.

The effectiveness of the manipulation of status was assessed by measuring participants' perception of their group's (social) standing in relation to that of the outgroup. Participants were asked to answer five questions twice (i.e., once with respect to the same-sex team and once with respect to the other-sex team), e.g., "How do you consider the (wo)men's team's standing?" and "How do you perceive the (wo)men's team's qualities?" (1 = *very low*, 7 = *very high* for all). For each item, a difference-score was obtained by subtracting the outgroup rating from the ingroup rating, which added up to a reliable 5-item scale (α = .90). Upon finishing, participants were thanked and shortly debriefed.

4.7 Results and Discussion

Manipulation check

In order to check the effectiveness of the manipulation of status, and to ensure that perceived relative standing was not affected by gender, we conducted a two-way ANOVA on perceived relative standing of the ingroup over the 2 (Status: low versus high) $\times$ 2 (Gender: man versus woman) design. The analysis only yielded a main effect of Status: Participants in the *high* status condition (M = 1.67, SD = 0.48) considered the relative standing of their ingroup vis-à-vis the outgroup to be higher than participants in the *low* status condition (M = 1.27, SD = 0.45), F (1,86) = 16.55, p < .001, η^2 = .16. Gender did not affect perceived relative group standing (F [1,86] = 1.49, p = .23). These data show that the manipulation was successful.

Whistle-blowing

Preliminary analyses showed that Status, while successfully manipulated, was not significantly related to Whistle-blowing. Since the focus is on participants' subjective impressions of the relative status of the group, it was considered more powerful to conduct further analyses with perceived relative standing as one of the predictors. A median split on the distribution of scores on perceived relative standing was performed so that participants who scored below the median (.20) were placed in the *low perceived relative standing* group (M = -0.49, SD = 0.94, n = 48), and participants who scored above

the median were placed in the *high perceived relative standing* group (M = 1.50, SD = 1.05, n = 42). Results on the frequency of whistle-blowing (i.e., no whistle blowing, whistle blowing to ingroup, whistle blowing to outgroup) within each level of Perceived relative standing are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 - *Frequency of whistle-blowing by Perceived relative standing (Study 4.2)*

	Perceived relative standing		
Whistle-blowing	Low	High	Total
None	29 (60.4 %)	17 (40.5 %)	46 (51.1 %)
To ingroup	11 (22.9 %)	5 (11.9 %)	16 (17.8 %)
To outgroup	8 (16.7 %)	20 (47.6 %)	28 (31.1 %)
Total	48 (100.0 %)	42 (100.0 %)	90 (100.0 %)

Note. Cell percentages of Whistle-blowing for each level of Perceived relative standing in parentheses.

Since this paper focuses on the group (i.e., ingroup or outgroup) to which people decided to blow the whistle rather than on people's decision to engage in, or refrain from, whistle-blowing altogether, the analyses only included those participants who had been categorized as whistle-blower. A chi-square analysis of the frequency data regarding the whistle-blowers in Table 4.1 showed a significant relation between Perceived relative standing (low, high) and Whistle-blowing (i.e., to ingroup, to outgroup), χ^2 (1) = 6.70, p = .01. More often than expected by the model, members of a *low* status group disclosed an outgroup transgression to the ingroup rather than the outgroup, whereas members of a *high* status group disclosed it to the outgroup rather than the ingroup. Participants' overall tendency to engage more in whistle-blowing to the outgroup than to the ingroup was pronounced among members of a high status group, and reversed among members of a low status group, who more often engaged in whistle-blowing to the ingroup than to the outgroup.

In order to examine whether the relation between perceived relative standing and choice of target becomes pronounced as people more strongly identify with the ingroup, we included ingroup identification as a second predictor of whistle-blowing. To this end,

a median split on the distribution of scores on ingroup identification[9] was performed so that participants who scored below the median (4.67) were placed in the *weak identifiers* group (M = 3.80, SD = 0.73, n = 46), and participants who scored above the median were placed in the *strong identifiers* group (M = 5.58, SD = 0.65, n = 44). The frequency of whistle-blowing (i.e., no whistle blowing, whistle blowing to ingroup, whistle blowing to outgroup) within each combined level of Perceived relative standing and Identification is presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 - *Frequency of whistle-blowing by Perceived relative standing and Identification (Study 4.2)*

	Perceived relative standing		
Whistle-blowing	Low	High	Total
weak identification:			
None	18 (66.7 %)	11 (57.9 %)	29 (63.0 %)
To ingroup	3 (11.1 %)	2 (10.5 %)	5 (10.9 %)
To outgroup	6 (22.2 %)	6 (31.6 %)	12 (26.1 %)
Total	27 (100.0 %)	19 (100.0 %)	46 (100.0 %)
strong identification:			
None	11 (52.4 %)	6 (26.1 %)	17 (38.6 %)
To ingroup	8 (38.1 %)	3 (13.0 %)	11 (25.0 %)
To outgroup	2 (9.5 %)	14 (60.9 %)	16 (36.4 %)
Total	21 (100.0 %)	23 (100.0 %)	44 (100.0 %)

Note. Cell percentages of Whistle-blowing for each combined level of Perceived relative standing and Identification in parentheses.

[9] A one-way ANOVA over perceived relative standing (low versus high), with ingroup identification as dependent variable yielded no effect of perceived relative standing (F [1,88] = 2.70, *ns*), from which could be deduced that the mean level of identification (M = 4.67, SD = 1.13) did not coincidentally vary across the two levels of perceived relative standing.

A log linear analysis was performed of the frequency data regarding the whistle-blowers in Table 4.2, which showed a marginally significant relation between Perceived relative standing (low, high), Whistle-blowing (i.e., to ingroup, to outgroup), and Identification (weak, strong), $L\chi^2$ (1) = 2.90, p = .089. More often than expected by the model, strongly identifying members of a low status group engaged in whistle-blowing to the ingroup rather than the outgroup, and strongly identifying members of a high status group engaged in whistle-blowing to the outgroup rather than the ingroup, whereas this pattern was absent among weakly identifying members.

In order to more accurately interpret the relation between perceived relative standing, choice of target, and identification, we tested the significance of the relation between perceived relative standing and choice of target for both weakly and strongly identifying group members. To this end, two separate Likelihood ratio tests were performed of the frequency data regarding the weakly and the strongly identifying whistle-blowers (Field, 2005, p. 716). A likelihood ratio test of the frequency data regarding the *weakly identifying* participants who blew the whistle showed no relation between Perceived relative standing (low, high) and Whistle-blowing (i.e., to ingroup, to outgroup), $L\chi^2$ (1) = 0.14, p = .71. A likelihood ratio test of the frequency data regarding the *strongly identifying* participants who blew the whistle however, showed a significant relation between Perceived relative standing (low, high) and Whistle-blowing (i.e., to ingroup, to outgroup), $L\chi^2$ (1) = 10.65, p = .001. When disclosing an outgroup transgression, strongly identifying members from a *low* status group did this, more often than expected by the model, to the *ingroup* rather than the *outgroup*, and strongly identifying members from a *high* status group did this, more often than expected by the model, to the *outgroup* rather than the *ingroup*.

The findings of Study 4.2 support Hypothesis 2: Members of a low status group engaged more in whistle-blowing to the ingroup than to the outgroup, whereas members of a high status group engaged more in whistle-blowing to the outgroup than to the ingroup. This pattern was pronounced among people who identified strongly with the ingroup, but absent among people who identified weakly with the ingroup.

4.8 General Discussion

In Study 4.1 we showed that, the more people identify with a *low status* group, the more they consider whistle-blowing to the ingroup on an outgroup transgression to be more loyal to the ingroup than whistle-blowing to the outgroup. We also showed that, the more people identify with a *high status* group, the more they consider whistle-blowing

to the outgroup to be more loyal to the ingroup than whistle-blowing to the ingroup. In Study 4.2 we demonstrated that the same pattern emerges when people *themselves* have the chance to share exclusive negative information about the outgroup with their own group or with the outgroup: Members of *low status* groups are more likely to engage in whistle-blowing to the ingroup than to the outgroup, whereas members of *high status* groups are more likely to engage in whistle-blowing to the outgroup than to the ingroup. Again, this pattern became more pronounced the more people identify with the ingroup. These results are in line with our reasoning that the communication of damaging outgroup information can be used strategically to enhance or confirm the ingroup's relative standing.

Research on gossip teaches us that talking negatively about high status others serves as a status-enhancing mechanism in social competition, and that low(er) status people or groups are motivated to obtain harmful, exploitable information about high(er) status rivals (McAndrew & Milenkovic, 2002; McAndrew et al., 2007). Moreover, a transgression within the ranks of a higher status outgroup may give cause to question the legitimacy of the existing status difference, and can easily be seized upon in order to destabilize and revise the status quo. Discussing the outgroup transgression within the ingroup may encourage fellow ingroup members to see the lower status position as unwarranted as well. Blowing the whistle to one's peers may thus sow the seeds for collective action, without directly offering the outgroup the opportunity to defend this status difference. Particularly people who care highly for their ingroup's standing engage in internal deliberation upon information that questions the legitimacy of their group's lower status position.

Members of high status groups who experience their group’s status as secure do not need to internally discuss transgressions committed by low status outgroups to boost their morale. Instead, they profit mostly from confronting the lower status outgroup with their offensive behaviour. This confrontation further underlines the existing status difference as it highlights a weakness on the part of the low status group, but also because the high status group is adopting the role of ‘moral agent’ by behaving as if it has the right to police norm-violation. By actively reprimanding a lower status outgroup on its illicit activities, the high status group asserts its superior position and reinforces the status quo by encouraging the lower status group to view its inferior position as warranted. Particularly people who care highly for their ingroup's standing engage in reprimanding behaviour towards a lower status outgroup, thereby underlining the legitimacy of their group's superior standing.

A factor that might affect the occurrence of intergroup whistle-blowing is the perceived locus of the wrongdoing, which may entail the disposition of a member (i.e., internal attribution) or a situational factor (i.e., external attribution; Weiner, 1995). Particularly in the case of an internally attributed wrongdoing the group as a whole is easily perceived in the light of this transgression (van Leeuwen et al., 2009), implying that internally attributed wrongdoings are potentially much more damaging to a group's image than externally attributed wrongdoings. The preference of strongly identifying members of a low status group, to initially share exclusive, damaging outgroup information with fellow members instead of outgroup members, might therefore be pronounced if the information refers to a disposition within this outgroup rather than an accidental occurrence. Future research might provide more insight into the role of attribution of illicit behaviour within explicit intergroup settings.

The current research mainly focuses on the question of whether people decide to blow the whistle on an outgroup transgression to either the *ingroup* or the *outgroup*. However, the more basic question *whether or not* people decide to blow the whistle might be of particular interest, since various motivations may underlie this consideration. To start with, the act of blowing the whistle on something or someone requires an active response. People who are, for example, insufficiently motivated, lack commitment, or are otherwise unable to adequately relate to a situation where they are confronted with exclusive information on an offence, might refrain from blowing the whistle without a clear underlying consideration. Not blowing the whistle may, however, also be a well-considered choice. To illustrate, previous research within the field of intragroup whistle-blowing has demonstrated that 'bringers of bad news' not infrequently encounter retaliation or some form of social rejection (Near & Miceli, 1985, 1986; Williams, Forgas, & von Hippel, 2005; van der Lee et al., 2009). Since informing others about an illicit activity can be costly for the informant, which will especially be the case in intragroup settings, people may choose to refrain from blowing the whistle (Masser & Brown, 1996; Jetten, Hornsey, Spears, Haslam, & Cowell, 2009). Other arguments may lead people to deliberately engage in whistle-blowing. Research within the domain of justice demonstrated that offences or offenders violate people's normative sense of justice, resulting in strong negative moral emotions towards the offender. As a consequence, people generally want to see the injustice that has been done to be undone, or at least to be requited for by some form of corrective action (van Prooijen, 2009). The employment of corrective action works both ways, since it may not only show its effectiveness by punishing the transgressor (thereby repairing people's feelings of injustice), but also by stopping the transgression (thereby restricting any

damage, Near & Miceli, 1995; Masser & Brown, 1996). This might motivate people to expose wrongdoings.

Whichever arguments may underlie peoples' decision to inform others about an outgroup transgression, the current paper conclusively identified someone's degree of identification with his/her ingroup (combined with this ingroup's relative status) as a strong predictor of this person's tendency to inform either the ingroup or the outgroup about an outgroup transgression. Literature on ingroup identification demonstrates that, the more people identify with their ingroup, the more they will engage in defending their ingroup's social identity. Also, the more people identify with their ingroup, the more their thoughts and behaviours will be guided by what's in the best interest of the ingroup as a whole (Doosje et al., 1999; p. 85). On the other hand, the thoughts and behaviours of people who do not strongly identify with their ingroup are generally much more driven by personal considerations (Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993; Branscombe & Wann, 1994); Branscombe et al., 1999). In the current research, effects were stronger for high identifiers, suggesting the phenomenon of intergroup whistle-blowing to be strongly driven by group-based considerations.

The present research is interesting for it is one of the first to examine the phenomenon of whistle-blowing within an explicit intergroup context (i.e., an *ingroup* member observing an *outgroup* transgression). This underlines the importance of research on the phenomenon of intergroup whistle-blowing. The current research however, is only a first step in this field and more research will be needed to more fully investigate the phenomenon of intergroup whistle-blowing. Interesting directions for future research may be to examine the effect of the severity of the transgression and the perceived legitimacy and/or stability of the intergroup status difference. Moreover, research that not only focuses on the question of which group individuals *initially* inform about harmful outgroup information, but also examines whether or not this (in- or out-)group subsequently informs the other group, would be interesting. Will people, when exclusively confronted with damaging outgroup information, indeed start questioning the existing status quo, and will they engage in collective action in order to improve their group's position? And to what kind of action will group members proceed when an outgroup member exclusively points out an abuse within their own rank? Will they indeed engage in reparative action? Instead of simply throwing negative information about group X into the lap of a member of group Y, it would furthermore be interesting to examine whether members of low status groups will start to actively seek for damaging outgroup information themselves, when offered the opportunity.

Research that would aim at gaining more insight into people's evaluation of intergroup whistle-blowers would also be interesting: Do we like fellow members who share useful information about a relevant higher status outgroup with us? And if so, do we like this member more as we more strongly identify with our group? Furthermore, research that would more thoroughly examine the (direct) link between the occurrence of whistle-blowing to the ingroup and/or outgroup on an outgroup transgression, and the increase/decrease in perceived relative standing of an ingroup, would further validate the notion that has been presented in this paper.

- CHAPTER 5 -

Summary and Discussion

5.1 Overview of the Main Findings

In the research reported in this thesis, we examined how attributes and behaviours of both ingroup and outgroup members affect a group's capacity to positively distinguish itself from a relevant outgroup. In this chapter, the main findings of Chapter 2, 3, and 4 will be summarized, theoretical and practical implications will be discussed, limitations of the current research will be reflected upon, and suggestions for future research will be considered.

5.1.1 Chapter 2 - What Have You Done For Us Lately? How Member Typicality, Member Contribution and Context Affect Perceived Member Suitability to Represent the Group

When people are in a position where their group is directly compared to another group, they strive towards favourable intergroup distinctions (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Van Leeuwen and colleagues (van Leeuwen, van den Bosch, Castano & Hopman, 2009) demonstrated that characteristics and behaviours of outgroup members are easily generalized to the outgroup as a whole. Since individuals vary in their specific qualities and capacities, they differ in the ability to positively contribute to their group's striving for positive intergroup distinction. The question rises which attributes determine a member's value to the group, as perceived by his/her fellow members. We argued that the degree to which certain qualities and capacities (i.e., contribution to, or typicality for the group) add to a favourable intergroup differentiation, greatly depends on the specific nature of the intergroup competition (i.e., instrumental or identity confirming). The aim of Chapter 2 was therefore to elaborate on earlier research on *member typicality* and *member contribution* and to examine how, within specific intergroup contexts, these two factors above and beyond each other affect how valuable someone is considered to be for his/her group.

In line with the expectations, in Studies 2.1 and 2.2 it was demonstrated that within a salient intergroup setting, *typical* group members are valued and liked more than *nontypical* group members, are considered to be more suitable group representatives, and are more likely to actually be selected as group representatives. In the same vein,

group members who *highly contribute* to their group and its resources, were valued and liked more than *poorly contributing* group members, are considered to be more suitable group representatives, and are more likely to actually be selected for that position. In Study 2.2, we identified specific group goals as a moderating factor of both the effect of member position, and the effect of prior contribution on perceived member suitability to represent the group. Only on a task where the primary goal of the group was to *propagate its unique identity* (i.e., an identity confirming context), typical group members were perceived to be more suitable group representatives, and were more likely to be selected as such. Highly contributing group members were always perceived as more suitable group representatives and were more likely to be selected as such, but this effect was more pronounced on a task where the primary goal of the group was to *gather more points than a relevant outgroup* (i.e., an instrumental context) than within an identity confirming context.

Motivated by the need to positively differentiate one's group from a relevant outgroup, ingroup members with certain qualities and capacities are preferred to stand out as group representatives. The 'strategy', to put forward one member over another, adapts to the nature of the specific intergroup context. Where in a specific intergroup context (e.g., an identity confirming context) certain members (e.g., typical members, as compared to nontypical members) are preferred to stand out on behalf of the group, the perceived suitability of these members as group representatives might be less pronounced, or fully absent, in another intergroup context.

To summarize - in her appearance, and the way group members are put forward in order to realize this appearance, the group adapts to the specific context of the intergroup comparison.

5.1.2 Chapter 3 - To Benefit From a Bad Apple: Typicality of a Transgressing Outgroup Member Moderates the Effect of Outgroup Reaction on General Outgroup Evaluation

As stated in Chapter 3, a group's image is mainly determined by its members and their behaviour. Typical group members are particularly influential in determining the image of their group (Hogg, 1992, 2001a, 2001b). Because of his or her association with the outgroup, a typical outgroup member openly transgressing the norms of good behaviour affects the image of the outgroup in a negative way, which may well boost the relative standing of one's own group. Unequivocal support of the outgroup towards this transgressing typical member will only strengthen the association between the norm-

breaking behaviour and the outgroup, thereby optimally contributing to positive intergroup differentiation. We reasoned that a transgressing typical outgroup member that is being approved of by the outgroup will elicit positive feelings among ingroup members, leading the ingroup to evaluate this outgroup in a relatively positive way. The aim of Chapter 3 was to provide more insight into how the reaction (i.e., approval or disapproval) of an outgroup to a transgressing typical or nontypical outgroup member affects the ingroup's affective evaluation of the outgroup.

Over Studies 3.1 and 3.2 we consistently found, as expected, that people tend to evaluate a relevant outgroup more positively when it openly approves (rather than disapproves) of a transgressing *typical* member, whereas this effect disappears when the outgroup deals with a transgressing *nontypical* member. We then reasoned that if the explicit association of a relevant outgroup with norm-breaking behaviour positively affects the relative standing of one's ingroup, resulting in a positive affective evaluation of the outgroup, one would expect the opposite to occur when the *ingroup* explicitly associates with (or distances itself from) a transgressing (non)typical ingroup member. This reasoning was validated in Study 3.3, where we once more replicated the outgroup effect, but also demonstrated that people's affective evaluation of the ingroup is more positive when the ingroup openly disapproves (rather than approves) of a transgressing *typical* member, whereas this effect disappeared when the ingroup deals with a transgressing *nontypical* member.

Characteristics that are associated with individual group members readily spill over to the group as a whole. Typical group members in particular strongly colour the image of their groups. An ingroup easily benefits from an influential outgroup member committing a transgression since this transgressor puts his/her group in a bad light, which makes the ingroup stand out in a positive way. In an attempt to get rid of the unfavourable association with this transgressing member, the outgroup could choose to distance itself from the transgressor by openly *disapproving* him/her - this may restore the outgroup's relative standing. Overt *approval* of a transgressing member on the other hand, only further confirms the negative association of the outgroup with the transgression - this very well makes the ingroup stand out in an even more positive way. The ingroup thus indirectly benefits from the way an outgroup deals with transgressing typical group members within their ranks: Approval of such a member elicits positive feelings, and disapproval elicits negative feelings. This conclusion is in line with research on intergroup schadenfreude (Leach, Spears, Branscombe, & Doosje, 2003; Spears & Leach, 2004; Leach & Spears, 2008), which has demonstrated that people can find pleasure in the misfortune of a rival outgroup.

5.1.3 Chapter 4 - Who Do We Inform? The Role of Status and Target in Intergroup Whistle-blowing

In Chapter 4, we again investigated the effect of a transgressing outgroup member on the relative standing of the outgroup, thereby affecting the ingroup's relative standing as well, albeit it in a more indirect way. We reasoned that group members can strategically use the communication of damaging outgroup information to enhance or confirm their own group's relative standing. We tested the idea that, if the ingroup's standing vis-à-vis a relevant outgroup is *low*, people who strongly identify with their group consider it in their group's best interest to share exclusive and damaging information about this outgroup with fellow ingroup members rather than with outgroup members - this in order to question the legitimacy of the existing status difference and to revise the status quo without directly offering the outgroup the opportunity to engage in reparative action. Moreover, we tested the idea that if the ingroup's standing vis-à-vis a relevant outgroup is *high*, people who strongly identify with their group will underline the legitimacy of the existing status difference by directly confronting the outgroup with their weakness, rather than to inform fellow ingroup members.

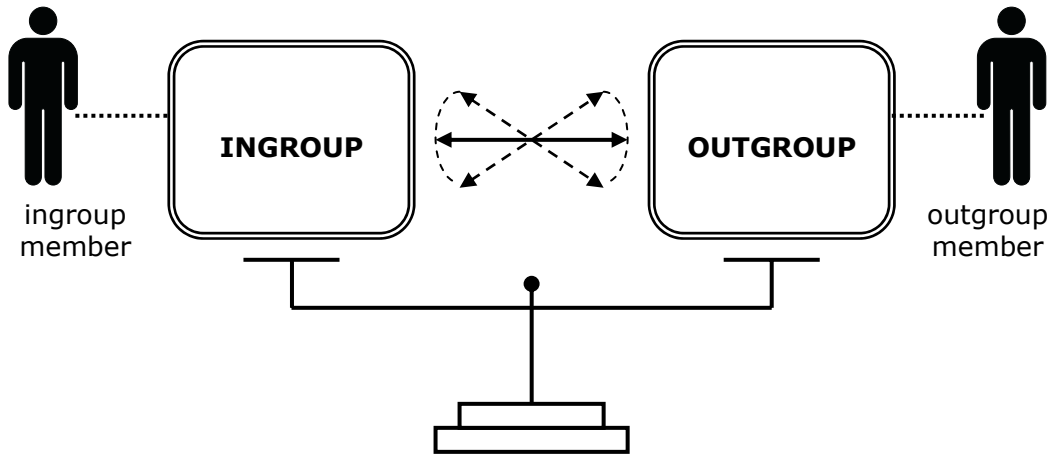
In Study 4.1 it was demonstrated that, the more people identify with a *low status* ingroup, the more they consider it in the ingroup's best interest to inform the ingroup (rather than the outgroup) on an outgroup transgression, whereas the more people identify with a *high status* ingroup, the more they consider it in the ingroup's best interest to inform the outgroup (rather than the ingroup) on an outgroup transgression. In Study 4.2 we demonstrated that the same pattern emerges when people *themselves* have the chance to share exclusive negative information about an outgroup member with their own group or with the outgroup. We found that members of *low status* groups are more likely to inform their fellow ingroup members (rather than outgroup members) on an outgroup transgression, whereas members of *high status* groups are more likely to inform outgroup (rather than ingroup) members on an outgroup transgression - this pattern became more pronounced as people more strongly identified with the ingroup.

The research presented in Chapter 4 is interesting for it is one of the first to examine the phenomenon of whistle-blowing (i.e., informing others about an illicit activity) within an explicit intergroup context (i.e., an *ingroup* member observing an *outgroup* transgression). It shows that the communication of damaging outgroup information can be used strategically to enhance or confirm the ingroup's relative standing.

5.2 Theoretical Implications

The current thesis elaborates on existing research in demonstrating that attributes and characteristics of *both* ingroup and outgroup members can reflect on the ingroup's standing vis-à-vis relevant other groups. Existing research has demonstrated that individual group members can strongly affect their group's image, that social groups -in order to obtain a positive social identity- generally are strongly motivated to seek comparison with other social groups, and that the degree to which groups wish to openly associate themselves with certain group members largely depends on the extent to which these members contribute to positive intergroup differentiation. Less was known about how the specific nature of the intergroup context affects the degree to which groups wish to openly associate themselves with specific group members. Within the existing intergroup literature less was also known about the advantage (or disadvantage) groups can take, in terms of group prestige, from individual *outgroup* members. Based on new findings embedded in existing literature, the current thesis states that the association of a relevant outgroup with misbehaving outgroup members can turn the intergroup balance for the benefit of the ingroup, and that this is likely to be accompanied by positive affective evaluations. In this thesis, already existing knowledge is supplemented with specific new findings - the aggregate of existing and freshly acquired insights can be moulded into a theoretical framework that will be discussed in further detail throughout the following sections.

Figure 5.1 – *When two groups are directly compared with each other, the perceived standing of these groups is influenced by both in- and outgroup members, and becomes directly and inversely related; this mechanism bears comparison with the functioning of a pair of scales.*



Previous research has demonstrated that people, as members of a group, aim to positively differentiate their own group from relevant outgroups - this provides them with a positive social identity (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner, 1999; Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). When two groups are directly compared with each other, the perceived standing of both groups becomes directly and inversely related: When the standing of one group increases, the relative standing of the other group automatically decreases and vice versa. This mechanism bears comparison with the functioning of a pair of scales, as conceptually depicted in Figure 5.1[10].

Groups are readily perceived in terms of the attributes and behaviours of its individual members (van Leeuwen et al., 2009). As a consequence, group members who behave according to common norms of good behaviour reflect positively on their ingroup, thereby contributing to their group's ability to positively differentiate itself from the outgroup (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). Referring to the balance metaphor from Figure 5.1, 'good' ingroup members directly raise the ingroup-part of the balance, thereby indirectly lowering the outgroup part of the balance. As a result, the ingroup finds itself in a *higher* position than the outgroup. Group members who do *not* behave in accordance with general norms of good behaviour reflect negatively on their ingroup, thereby undermining their group's ability to positively differentiate itself from the outgroup (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000). 'Bad' ingroup members directly lower the ingroup-part of the balance, thereby indirectly raising the outgroup-part of the balance - as a result, the ingroup finds itself in a *lower* position than the outgroup.

The previous is in line with literature that focuses on how fellow members evaluate each other: 'Bad' fellow group members are evaluated in a rather negative way, whereas 'good' fellow group members are evaluated in a rather positive way (Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998; Marques & Paez, 1994; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988; Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Dougill, 2002). It is therefore of great importance for groups to be associated with good, but not with bad members. In order to prevent any explicit association with bad members and the subsequent drop in group status, groups readily distance themselves from bad members (Marques, Yzerbyt & Leyens, 1988; Castano, Paladino, Coull, and Yzerbyt, 2002; Birchmeier, Joinson & Diets-Uhler, 2005). Study 3.3 for example demonstrated

[10] It should be mentioned that this scale model is presented as a heuristic framework, since it applies to (competitive) intergroup situations that are fully zero-sum. Although, instrumentally, intergroup situations are not always completely zero-sum, people are often inclined to emphasize the zero-sum character of the intergroup situation.

that the open and explicit association of the ingroup with a transgressing ingroup representative led to negative affective evaluations among members of this group. Studies 2.1 and 2.2 furthermore demonstrated that groups wish to openly associate themselves with ingroup members who significantly contribute to their group's capacity to positively distinguish themselves. Typical members, as well as members who provide their group with means or effort, strongly contribute to their group's potential to positively differentiate itself from relevant outgroups - these members raise the ingroup part of the intergroup balance. It is interesting that the requirements of the specific intergroup context (i.e., the dimension of the intergroup comparison) largely determine to what degree the group wishes to openly associate itself with an ingroup member who is characterized by certain features. An ingroup member becomes more strongly embraced by his/her group if the specific features of this member 'match' the dimension on which the ingroup aims to outperform the outgroup. Referring back to the scale-model of Figure 5.1, we can state that the background, or the context, of the intergroup weighing strongly affects whether a specific ingroup member is considered to be able to move the balance in favour of the ingroup, and whether the ingroup chooses to publicly associate itself with this member.

A pair of scales operates both ways: not only does a scale rise or drop when weight is added or removed - the scale also rises or drops when weight is taken away from, or added to, the opposing scale. The same mechanism is supposed to underlie the conceptual intergroup model as depicted in Figure 5.1. Within an intergroup setting, the (relative) standing of one's group is not only determined by attributes and behaviours of fellow ingroup members, but also by attributes and behaviours of members of the rival outgroup. 'Bad' outgroup members are believed to be able to directly drop the outgroup-part of the balance, thereby indirectly raising the ingroup-part of the balance and bringing the ingroup in a *higher* position than the outgroup.

The mechanism as stated in the previous is compatible with literature on schadenfreude. When faced with the suffering of another human being, the most common reactions are empathy or compassion (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1990; Heider, 1958), even if this person belongs to another group (Batson, Sager, Garst, Kang, Rubchinsky, & Dawson, 1997). Not seldom however, do people experience positive affect when observing others' misfortune - on the interpersonal as well as on the intergroup level (Leach et al., 2003; Spears & Leach 2004; Leach & Spears, 2008). Although outgroup misfortunes or offences *themselves* are generally evaluated as being negative in valence (Marques & Paez, 1994; Leach & Spears, 2008; Study 3.2 and 3.3 of the current thesis), the fact that rivalling others suffer from them elicits a positively laden affect. The balance metaphor of Figure

5.1 explains how these negative and positive affective reactions can coincide: The stronger the downward pressure of a negatively laden occurrence within the outgroup, the more powerful is the subsequent boost to the ingroup's positive standing. The association of the outgroup with a negatively laden piece of information (like, for example, a transgressing outgroup member) clearly promotes the intergroup position of one's own group, eliciting positive affective reactions; Studies 3.1 to 3.3 of the current thesis are compatible with this notion. The fact that, in Studies 3.2 and 3.3, group members consider outgroup transgression as being harmful to the outgroup's image, confirms that group members are perfectly aware of the fact that offences within the outgroup undermine the outgroup's standing. Although outgroup offences are indisputably recognized as something negative, the open and explicit association of the outgroup with a representative outgroup member committing such an offence, readily elicits positive affective evaluations within the ingroup.

The tendency to enjoy negative information about a relevant outgroup is particularly pronounced among people who's social identity is at stake. Research on schadenfreude has shown that when people feel that their group is threatened by another group in a domain relevant to its social identity, they are likely to enjoy possible misfortune suffered by that outgroup (Leach et al., 2003; Spears & Leach, 2004; Leach & Spears, 2008). In literature on gossip (McAndrew & Milenkovic, 2002; McAndrew, Bell, & Garcia, 2007) it is argued that privately talking about negative information regarding others has a status enhancing function. People who, compared to others, find themselves in a low status position particularly talk about the misfortune of these higher status others. This fits with the idea that underlies Figure 5.1: Given the fact that groups aim for a higher standing than relevant outgroups, the need for negative load on the outgroup-part of the balance is more urgent when the relative standing of the ingroup is initially *low* (i.e., when the ingroup-scale is in a lower position than the outgroup-scale) than when it is *high* (i.e., when the ingroup-scale is in a higher position than the outgroup-scale). Members of a group with a relatively poor standing may thus strongly benefit from an outgroup being associated with negative facts or events. This may in turn motivate members of a low status group to more easily notice the existence of such an association - or even to actively search for it.

Study 4.1 of the current thesis elaborated on this finding by demonstrating that highly identifying members of lower status groups consider it in their group's best interest to share exclusive, damaging information on a higher status outgroup exclusively within the privacy of their own group. Study 4.2 furthermore demonstrates that people who belong to a low status ingroup and exclusively dispose of information that might

undermine the outgroup's superior standing, primarily share this information with their fellow group members. A transgression within the ranks of a higher status outgroup readily gives cause to question the legitimacy of the existing status difference, and can easily be seized upon in order to destabilize and revise the status quo. Discussing the outgroup transgression within the ingroup may encourage fellow ingroup members to see the lower status position as unwarranted, and may sow the seeds for collective action - this without directly offering the outgroup the opportunity to defend this status difference. The communication of damaging outgroup information can thus be used strategically to enhance the ingroup's relative standing.

Privately discussing negative information about a higher status outgroup is likely to promote intragroup unity and solidarity. As mentioned before, internal deliberation (and the consequential increase in intragroup cohesiveness) may well lead to group protest or collective action - this in order to revise the existing status quo. Klandermans (1997, 2002) and van Zomeren and colleagues (van Zomeren, Postmes & Spears, 2008, van Zomeren, Spears & Leach, 2008) already demonstrated that group members who feel strongly tied to the group are especially likely to engage in protest when they feel that their group is the subject of injustice. When conducting future research on the sharing of negative information about higher status outgroups, it would be interesting to focus on group cohesiveness and the occurrence of protest, thereby taking into account factors like the gravity of the negative outgroup information and the legitimacy/stability of the initial intergroup status difference.

5.3 Practical Implications

People's need for their group to outperform or outshine other groups is rather universal. Since people generally belong to -for example- different organisations, business teams, (backings of) sports teams, political parties, nations, ethnicities and religions, groups are everywhere and people will try to positively differentiate their group from relevant other groups. Quite some day-to-day intergroup phenomena can therefore be further elucidated on the basis of the current thesis. Some practical examples will be discussed below.

Political parties for example, mainly exist by the virtue of their difference from other political parties, and are highly motivated to positively differentiate themselves from each other. Within the domain of politics, public image is of great importance, and intergroup relations are generally competitive in nature. The processes that are studied in the current thesis are therefore very relevant within the domain of politics. As

commonly known, the field of politics involves lots of hard work and effort - in public, as well as behind the scenes. Politics also involve a vast amount of public image building; in order to appeal the electorate, a party's image should be rather irreproachable. Therefore, politicians who behave according to common norms of good behaviour are of great value to their party. The current thesis demonstrates that a group representative should not only appeal to the public general, but also that s/he should be typical for his or her group. Especially within highly identity conforming settings such as -for example- the political arena, typical members are strongly embraced by their groups/parties. Conformity to the unique identity of a group clearly adds to the group's overall sense of belonging. This, in turn, is likely to contribute to the group's general functioning.

When pushing forward a representative of a group like a political party, a company, or a sports team, it is of great importance that this person and his/her (past) behaviour is irreproachable. Particularly when they feel their social identities are at stake, other groups are likely to search for causes to put one's group in a bad light. Negative campaigning, for example, is a phenomenon that is quite common in the United States, but is also encountered more and more in Europe. Instead of running on the merits of one's own camp, political parties do not hesitate to dig into the opponent's past in search of damaging information. Great amounts of money are spent on TV-commercials portraying the opposing camp in a bad light. Prominent (public) figures should thus be sure to have a clean slate. During the latest presidential elections in the United States for example, Sarah Palin -running mate of republican president candidate John McCain- was haunted by several scandals, mostly brought to light by the democratic camp. These scandals are believed to be one of the causes of the ultimate republicans' loss. Later, it turned out that only five days in advance of her nomination as running mate, Palin became a serious candidate, and only one day before the nomination her past was investigated - a procedure that normally takes several months. Group representatives, or aspirant representatives, and their (past) behaviour should be unimpeachable. When this is not the case, their group should at all costs prevent that the harmful information falls into the hands of the opponents - especially when the opposing team feels its social identity is at stake and is strongly motivated to dig up damaging information.

When a transgression within the boundaries of one's organization, team, political camp, or other kind of group, comes to light, not all has to be lost. A strategic measure in order to dispose one's group from the negative charge a transgressing member brings along, might be to openly distance the group from the transgressor and his/her behaviour. A good example is the association between Tiger Woods and some leading trademarks to whom he, at the time, attached his name. A day after the golfing icon publicly

acknowledged that he's had extramarital affairs, Gillette (the well known shaving company) became the first major sponsor to bench Woods as its pitchman. Also, Tag Heuer (the Swiss watch maker) pulled all advertisements with Woods from all retail locations in Australia. Another good example of a group distancing itself from a negative deviant member is that of Bishop Williamson's denial of the Holocaust. Under pressure of the Catholic community that refused to be associated with Williamson's opinion, Pope Benedict XVI distanced himself by officially stating that he had not been aware of Williamson's assertion, and by expressing his unquestionable solidarity with the Jewish community. The Vatican furthermore stated that if Williamson would not distance himself unequivocally and publicly from the opinions that he had expressed, he would no longer be permitted to act as a bishop within the Church. In politics (national as well as international), rejection of negative deviants is a commonly used strategy, as it is in many other more or less competitive intergroup settings.

Not only can groups *suffer* from (the existence of) negative deviants; they can also take *advantage* of bad apples. Especially when the standing of one's own group is at stake, and one is not sufficiently able to directly boost it on the basis of its own merits, a group can encounter the benefits of bad apples - that is: as long as these bad apples exist within the ranks of the competing camp. It might be worthwhile to actively search for negative information about a rival since, by spilling over to the group as a whole, this information is potentially harmful to the whole rivalling group. When one possesses damaging outgroup information, it is sensible to first deliberate upon it with -for example- colleagues or fellow party members before confronting competing others with the information. By adopting this strategy, competitors are not only prevented from directly eliminating or repairing the negative association, but colleagues or fellow party members might also be encouraged to question the existing status quo, and might become motivated to engage in collective action in order to improve their position.

As mentioned before, the current thesis is based on competitive intergroup situations that are (perceived as) fully zero-sum. It should be mentioned that, instrumentally, not all intergroup settings are entirely zero-sum. To illustrate, whereas political parties try very hard to differentiate themselves from each other during election times, they usually try to come to terms during coalition negotiations. Furthermore, the (social) world can be categorized in many ways, and people easily shift their perception from one ingroup-outgroup categorization to another. Although in reality people (high identifiers more than weak identifiers) are often inclined to emphasize the zero-sum character of an intergroup situation, groups are –instrumentally and/or perceptually- not always

strictly interdependent. Therefore, the scale model as presented in Figure 5.1 should mainly be regarded as a heuristic framework for (competitive) intergroup situation.

5.4 Suggestions for Future Research

As mentioned in Paragraph 5.3, when conducting future research on the sharing of negative information about (higher status) outgroups, it would be interesting to focus on group cohesiveness and the occurrence of protest, thereby taking into account factors like the gravity of the negative outgroup information and the legitimacy/stability of the initial intergroup status difference. Will people, when exclusively confronted with damaging outgroup information, indeed start questioning the existing status quo, will there be an increase in group cohesiveness, and will people truly engage in collective action in order to improve their group's position? And to what kind of action will group members proceed when an outgroup member exclusively points out an abuse within their own rank? Will they indeed engage in reparative action? It would furthermore be interesting to examine whether members of low status groups will start to *actively seek* for damaging outgroup information, when offered the opportunity.

It might also be interesting to examine the effect of (poor) *individual* feelings of self-esteem on peoples' tendencies to inform lower status outgroups on transgressions within their ranks. Intuitively, it makes sense that individuals with depressed feelings of personal self-esteem readily seize the higher status of their group, and therefore experience the act of putting a lower status entity in its place as especially rewarding. Therefore, these people might experience the act of putting a lower status entity in it's place as especially rewarding.

Another suggestion for future research may be to examine the current theoretical ideas within varying intergroup settings. More specifically, the intergroup settings that were described in the current thesis can all be characterized as rather competitive and zero-sum. Zero-sum describes a situation in which the gains of one party are exactly balanced by the losses of another party (or vice versa). Non-zero-sum on the other hand, describes a situation in which the gains (or losses) of one party are unrelated to the losses (or gains) of another party. In the case of a non-zero-sum situation the interacting parties' aggregate gains are optimal under cooperation. For instance, when (rivalling) groups have common interests at a higher level (e.g., broadcasting companies, departments of a faculty or company), a certain degree of cooperation can be expected. Besides, groups that are rivalling at a lower level of generality might at the same time share an identity within a higher-order category that includes both subgroups (e.g.,

social and clinical psychologists are both psychologists). When a common identity exists, cooperation between subgroups will become a more likely strategy than competition (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman & Rust, 1993; van Leeuwen, 2001). Therefore, the processes that are studied in the current thesis are likely to be less prevalent in intergroup situations that can be characterized by the existence of shared interests and/or shared identities. Future research (also) focusing on these kinds of intergroup situations might be a useful supplement to the current research, and might strengthen the scale-metaphor with respect to highly competing intergroup settings.

It would also be interesting to examine whether people actively start to compare their ingroup with another group, once they find out about potentially damaging behaviour by members of this outgroup. The current thesis only examined situations in which an explicit intergroup setting was already present before any association between the outgroup and transgressing outgroup members could be made. It would be interesting to examine whether groups, in a setting where originally no explicit intergroup context was present, will seize the opportunity to positively differentiate themselves from other groups that can be associated with negative information - given that initially the ingroup exclusively possesses this information. Findings in support of this reasoning would further underline the idea that negative outgroup information can (and will) be the used in a strategic way.

With respect to the research on whistle-blowing, that was described in Chapter 4, some useful suggestions for future research can be done. A factor that might affect the occurrence of intergroup whistle-blowing is the *perceived locus of the wrongdoing*, which may entail the disposition of a member (i.e., internal attribution) or a situational factor (i.e., external attribution; van der Lee, van Leeuwen, & Hopman, 2009; Weiner, 1995). Particularly in the case of an internally attributed wrongdoing the group as a whole is easily perceived in the light of this transgression (van Leeuwen et al., 2009), implying that internally attributed wrongdoings are potentially much more damaging to a group's image than externally attributed wrongdoings. The preference of strongly identifying members of a low status group to initially share exclusive, damaging outgroup information with fellow members instead of outgroup members, might therefore be pronounced if the information refers to a disposition within this outgroup rather than an accidental occurrence.

Going a step further, one can suppose that people are motivated to portray negative outgroup information in relatively dispositional terms. In fact, according to the Linguistic Intergroup Bias (LIB; Maass, Salvi, Arcuri & Semin, 1989), people

systematically vary the type of verbs they use as a function of whether they are describing positive or negative behaviours of in- or outgroup members. Positive ingroup, as well as negative outgroup behaviours are described at a higher level of abstraction compared to the same positive outgroup and negative ingroup behaviours (Reitsma-van Rooijen, 2007). Wigboldus, Spears and Semin (2005) demonstrated that the occurrence of biased language is context dependent (i.e., only in intergroup, and not in intragroup contexts, biased language is used). It would therefore be interesting to expand the experimental paradigm of Study 4.2 with the opportunity for participants to communicate negative outgroup information to the outgroup, after they have had the chance to (privately) share this information with fellow ingroup members. These two types of communications may well enclose different levels of abstraction. Based on the findings of Wigboldus, Spears and Semin (2005), negative information about the outgroup might be expressed at a higher level of abstraction when disclosed to the outgroup than when discussed in private (i.e. within the ingroup). This finding would further validate the strategy that was presumed to underlie people's way of dealing with exclusive outgroup information, as was done in Chapter 4.

The current thesis mainly focussed on *badly* behaving outgroup members and how their misbehaviours, by spilling over to the outgroup as a whole, indirectly portray the ingroup in a favourable way. Based on the balance-metaphor as stated in Paragraph 5.2, one may as well hypothesize that nicely behaving outgroup members affect the ingroup's image - be it in an unfavourable way. This thesis did not focus on well behaving outgroup members and on the way these behaviours may indirectly portray the ingroup in an unfavourable way. However, this might be a useful suggestion for future research. Watching an outgroup member behave according to common norms of good behaviour is likely to evoke negative feelings among ingroup members. Especially when the outgroup member is representative for his/her group, the ingroup is likely to experience negative affect - after all, typical group members strongly determine the image of the group as a whole. Moreover, in the light of the results of Chapter 4 one can suppose that, when exclusively disposing of positive outgroup information, ingroup members are reluctant to disclose this information. Disclosing favourable outgroup information might, after all, undermine the ingroup's relative standing. As a result, people might rather keep positive outgroup information within the boundaries of their own group.

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Samenvatting
(Summary in Dutch)

Mensen streven er over het algemeen naar om deel uit te maken van groepen die hoog gewaardeerd worden. Hoog gewaardeerde groepen en hun leden worden namelijk gekenmerkt door een positieve sociale identiteit – iets dat mensen voorziet van een sterk gevoel van eigenwaarde. Dit stellen twee vooraanstaande theoretische modellen binnen de sociale psychologie: de sociale identiteitstheorie (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner, 1999; Abrams & Hogg, 1990) en de zelf-categorisatietheorie (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

Een doeltreffende methode om als groep een positieve sociale identiteit te realiseren, is door middel van positieve intergroepsdifferentiatie: door de eigen groep gunstig te laten afsteken tegen een andere groep komt de sociale identiteit van de eigen groep (extra) voordelig uit de verf. Om de eigen groep ('ingroup') te kunnen opwaarderen door middel van vergelijk met een andere groep ('outgroup'), dient wel aan enkele voorwaarden te worden voldaan. Als vanzelfsprekend is er een sociale situatie vereist waarin een relevante vergelijkingsgroep aanwezig is. Daarnaast dient de dimensie waarop vergelijking tussen de groepen plaatsvindt van voldoende betekenis te zijn. Een andere randvoorwaarde is dat men zich voldoende identificeert met de eigen groep: het groepslidmaatschap dient voldoende geïnternaliseerd te zijn als onderdeel van iemands zelfconcept. Vooral mensen voor wie hun groepslidmaatschap van groot belang is (d.w.z., sterk identificerende groepsleden) zullen er een goed gevoel uit halen wanneer het vergelijk met een andere groep in het voordeel van de eigen groep uitvalt.

Groepsleden die zich niet houden aan heersende sociale normen en codes worden ook wel devianten genoemd. Groepen worden niet graag geassocieerd met deviante leden omdat deze het aanzien van de groep als geheel kunnen schaden. Zo lieten van Leeuwen en collega's zien dat groepen gemakkelijk worden waargenomen in termen van (onwenselijke) eigenschappen van een individueel groepslid (van Leeuwen, van den Bosch, Castano & Hopman, 2009). Omdat zij met hun gedrag de sociale identiteit van de groep als geheel in gevaar brengen worden groepsleden die zich niet conform de groepsnorm gedragen door hun medegroepsleden gedegradeerd en is terechtwijzing, straf of zelfs (sociale) uitsluiting een mogelijke consequentie. Vooral medegroepsleden die veel waarde hechten aan het groepslidmaatschap zullen geneigd zijn zich negatief op te stellen ten aanzien van devianten.

Groepsleden die de groepsidentiteit sterk vertegenwoordigen en/of gedrag vertonen dat in bredere zin overeen stemt met algemeen geldende normen, dragen op een positieve manier bij aan de groepsidentiteit. Hogg (1992, 1993, 2001a, 2001b) stelde dat groepsleden die in termen van eigenschappen en gedragingen kenmerkend zijn voor de groep als geheel (d.w.z., zogenaamde 'typische' leden), optimaal bijdragen aan het vermogen van de groep om zich van andere groepen te onderscheiden. Leden die groepsnormen uitdragen -zoals deze typische leden doen- steunen dus de sociale identiteit van de groep, en worden om die reden doorgaans hoog gewaardeerd door hun medegroepsleden.

Competitie tussen groepen is vaak louter gebaseerd op de behoefte om zich in psychologisch opzicht gunstig van elkaar te onderscheiden. Wanneer er sprake is van een dergelijke psychologische of symbolische competitie tussen groepen en het voornaamste doel is om de eigen unieke identiteit te onderstrepen, kunnen typische leden optimaal bijdragen aan het onderscheidend vermogen van hun groep. Soms echter, is de competitie tussen groepen overheersend praktisch of instrumenteel van aard en worden er meer tastbare doelen nagestreefd. Groepsleden die deze tastbare doelen helpen bereiken (bijvoorbeeld door de inzet van kennis, arbeid of middelen) kunnen binnen deze context optimaal bijdragen aan het onderscheidend vermogen van de groep. Scheepers en collega's stelden, in lijn met deze redenering, dat intergroepsdifferentiatie zowel een instrumentele als een identiteitsbevestigende functie kan vervullen. Differentiatie kan zich op vele manieren manifesteren, waarbij bepaalde vormen van differentiatie de instrumentele functie beter dienen, en andere vormen de identiteitsbevestigende functie (Scheepers, Spears, Doosje & Manstead, 2002, 2003, 2006). De precieze aard van de intergroepscompetitie lijkt zo voor een groot deel te bepalen welke eigenschappen en gedragingen optimaal bijdragen aan intergroepsdifferentiatie, en daarmee aan een positieve sociale groepsidentiteit.

Samenvattend kan worden gesteld dat groepsleden die zich normatief gedragen en op een positieve manier bijdragen aan het onderscheidend vermogen van hun groep, de sociale identiteit van hun groep daarmee gunstig beïnvloeden. Groepsleden die zich niet normatief gedragen, dragen op een negatieve manier bij aan het onderscheidend vermogen van hun groep en schaden daarmee de sociale identiteit van hun groep. Zoals eerder gesteld vindt de evaluatie van een groep grotendeels plaats in referentie tot een significante andere groep. Het lijkt daarom logisch te veronderstellen dat niet alleen 'goede' ingroupleden, maar ook 'slechte' outgroupleden het relatieve aanzien van de ingroup doen toenemen. Daar waar 'goede' ingroupleden de ingroup in een voordelig daglicht stellen en het relatieve groepsaanzien op een directe manier een impuls geven,

stellen 'slechte' outgroupleden de outgroup in een onvoordelig daglicht, iets wat het relatieve groepsaanzien van de ingroup op een indirecte manier eveneens ten goede komt. De ingroup zou dus haar voordeel kunnen doen met een outgroup die geassocieerd wordt met negatief geladen informatie, zoals een normoverschrijdend outgrouplid.

Deze redenering wordt gesteund door onderzoek naar leedvermaak, waarin wordt aangetoond dat mensen geneigd zijn genot te ontlenen aan tegenslagen binnen een outgroup – vooral als de tegenslag plaatsvindt binnen een domein dat belangrijk is voor de groepsidentiteit (Leach, Spears, Branscombe & Doosje, 2003; Spears & Leach, 2004; Leach & Spears, 2008). Onderzoek naar roddelen laat zien dat mensen plezier ondervinden in (het delen van) negatieve informatie over anderen, en dat men zelfs actief op zoek gaat naar dergelijke schadelijke informatie (McAndrew, Bell & Garcia, 2007; McAndrew & Milenkovic, 2002). De onderzoekers stellen dat kwaadsprekerij over anderen niet alleen op individueel niveau maar ook op groepsniveau lonend kan zijn.

De neiging om plezier te ontlenen aan negatieve informatie over een outgroup is vooral sterk aanwezig wanneer mensen het gevoel hebben dat hun sociale identiteit onder druk staat. Bovenstaand onderzoek naar leedvermaak liet bijvoorbeeld zien dat leedvermaak ten aanzien van een outgroup vooral plaatsvindt wanneer mensen het idee hebben dat deze outgroup hun groep bedreigt op een domein dat belangrijk is voor de sociale identiteit. Het hierboven aangehaalde onderzoek naar roddelen liet verder zien dat kwaadsprekerij statusverhogend werkt, en zich voornamelijk richt op hogere-status rivalen.

Het doel van dit proefschrift is om in meer detail te onderzoeken of, en op welke manier, ingroup- en outgroupleden kunnen bijdragen aan het vermogen van een groep om zich positief te onderscheiden van een relevante andere groep. Meer specifiek is onderzocht hoe het concrete doel van een intergroepscompetitie van invloed is op de mate waarin bepaalde persoonseigenschappen (i.e., typiciteit voor, en bijdrage aan de ingroup) worden gewaardeerd in een medegroepslid, en in hoeverre dit medegroepslid een geschikte groepsvertegenwoordiger wordt geacht (Studies 2.1 en 2.2), hoe de reactie van een outgroup op een overtredend outgrouplid van invloed is op beoordeling van deze outgroup (Studies 3.1 - 3.3) en hoe relatieve ingroup status bepaalt of schadelijke informatie over een outgroup gedeeld wordt met medegroepsleden (Studies 4.1 en 4.2).

In Hoofdstuk 2 is door middel van twee experimenten onderzocht wat het effect is van typiciteit voor de groep, eerdere bijdrage aan de groep (Studie 2.1) en het doel van de

intergroepscompetitie (Studie 2.2) op de waardering van dit groepslid en op de mate waarin hij/zij geschikt geacht werd de groep te vertegenwoordigen. De studies lieten zien dat, binnen een saillante intergroepssetting, typische (vs. niet-typische) ingroupleden en ingroupleden die veel (vs. weinig) aan de groep hadden bijgedragen door hun medegroepsleden het meest werden gewaardeerd en het meest geschikt werden geacht de groep binnen deze competitieve setting te vertegenwoordigen – dit ongeacht het specifieke doel van de intergroepscompetitie. Echter, de voorkeur van mensen om vertegenwoordigd te worden door een typisch (vs. niet-typisch) ingrouplid was uitgesprokener binnen een identiteitsbevestigende dan binnen een instrumentele intergroepscontext. De voorkeur om vertegenwoordigd te worden door een ingrouplid dat veel (vs. weinig) aan de groep had bijgedragen was juist uitgesprokener binnen een instrumentele dan binnen een identiteitsbevestigende intergroepscontext. De resultaten laten zien dat de mate waarin bepaalde eigenschappen en capaciteiten van ingroupleden bijdragen aan een gunstige intergroepsdifferentiatie voor een groot deel afhankelijk is van het specifieke doel van de intergroepscompetitie. Groepen kunnen hier slim op anticiperen door, afhankelijk van waar de intergroepscontext om vraagt, bepaalde leden naar voren te schuiven als vertegenwoordiger van de groep en zo optimaal uit de verf te komen.

In Hoofdstuk 3 is door middel van drie experimenten onderzocht wat het effect is van typiciteit van een overtredend outgrouplid en de daaropvolgende reactie van de betreffende outgroup op de manier waarop deze outgroup vervolgens geëvalueerd wordt. Omdat typische leden een relatief sterke invloed hebben op het imago van hun groep zal de negatieve associatie van een outgroup met een overtredend typisch outgrouplid lonend zijn voor het relatieve aanzien van de ingroup. Wanneer de outgroup het antinormatieve gedrag van dit typische lid vervolgens ook nog onmiskenbaar goedkeurt, wordt de associatie van de outgroup met dit antinormatieve gedrag -en daarmee de 'boost' voor het aanzien van de ingroup- alleen maar verder versterkt. Eén en ander zou resulteren in een positief gevoel bij de ingroup jegens de outgroup als geheel. De studies 3.1 tot en met 3.3 toonden consistent aan dat ingroupleden een relevante outgroup inderdaad positiever beoordelen wanneer deze outgroup een overtredend typisch outgrouplid openlijk goedkeurt (vs. afkeurt), terwijl dit effect verdween wanneer het ging om een overtredend niet-typisch outgrouplid. Als de associatie van een outgroup met antinormatief gedrag het relatieve aanzien van de ingroup positief beïnvloedt en derhalve resulteert in een positieve evaluatie van deze outgroup, zo werd er geredeneerd, dan zou men het omgekeerde effect kunnen verwachten wanneer de ingroup zichzelf associeert met (vs. distantieert van) een overtredend typisch (vs. niet-typisch) ingrouplid. Dit werd bevestigd in Studie 3.3,

waarin niet alleen het effect met betrekking tot de outgroup nogmaals werd gerepliceerd, maar waarin eveneens werd aangetoond dat de evaluatie van de ingroup relatief gunstig uitvalt wanneer deze een overtredend typisch ingrouplid afkeurt (vs. goedkeurt), terwijl dit effect van reactie verdween wanneer het betrekking had op een overtredend niet-typisch ingrouplid.

In Hoofdstuk 4 werd, door middel van twee experimenten, nogmaals gekeken naar het effect van overtredende, antinormatieve outgroupleden op het relatieve aanzien van een groep. De redenering was dat groepsleden het communiceren van schadelijke informatie over een outgroup(lid) strategisch kunnen gebruiken om zo de status van de eigen groep te bevestigen of verbeteren. Studie 4.1 liet zien dat, wanneer de relatieve status van de ingroup laag is, sterk identificerende groepsleden het meer in het voordeel van de eigen groep achtten om schadelijke informatie over een relevante outgroup te delen met ingroup- dan met outgroupleden. Studie 4.2 liet bovendien zien dat deze leden, wanneer zij zelf daadwerkelijk beschikten over schadelijke informatie over de outgroup, deze informatie vaker deelden met ingroup- dan met outgroupleden. Door het voeren van intern beraad kan men nagaan of, op basis van de schadelijke informatie, de legitimiteit van het bestaande statusverschil in twijfel kan worden getrokken, en kan men zich beraden op acties die gericht zijn op het herzien van de status quo (i.e., de eigen relatieve status kunnen verhogen). Door de informatie tijdens dit proces binnenskamers te houden wordt de outgroup de mogelijkheid ontnomen om de geleden schade te herstellen. Het tegenovergestelde van het hierboven beschreven effect werd ook gevonden: wanneer de relatieve status van de ingroup hoog is, achtten sterk identificerende groepsleden het meer in het voordeel van de eigen groep om schadelijke informatie over een relevante outgroup te delen met leden van deze outgroup dan met ingroupleden (Studie 4.1). Bovendien deelden zij deze informatie, wanneer ze er zelf over beschikten, ook vaker met outgroup- dan met ingroupleden (Studie 4.2). Dat dit eveneens een strategische manier van handelen betreft, wordt onderbouwd door het gegeven dat het algemeen wordt aanvaard dat hoge(re)-statusentiteiten lage(re)-statusentiteiten corrigeren of terechtwijzen. Door de lagere statusgroep met het antinormatieve gedrag binnen hun gelederen te confronteren, onderstreept de ingroup de eigen (hogere) status nog eens extra. Het onderzoek dat in Hoofdstuk 4 wordt beschreven is interessant omdat het, voor zover bekend, het eerste is dat zich richt op het fenomeen van klokkenluiden binnen een expliciete intergroepssetting.

Samengevat borduurt dit proefschrift voort op bestaand onderzoek door aan te tonen dat eigenschappen, capaciteiten en gedrag van zowel ingroup- als outgroupleden van invloed kunnen zijn op het aanzien van een groep vis-à-vis een relevante outgroup. Dat

eigenschappen van ingroupleden direct van invloed zijn op het relatieve aanzien van hun groep was al bekend. In het huidige proefschrift werd dit andermaal aan de orde gesteld (Studie 3.3), en werd bovendien nader onderzocht hoe de specifieke context van de intergroepssetting hierbij een rol speelt (Studie 2.1 en 2.2). Door nieuwe bevindingen in te bedden in bestaande kennis, stelt dit proefschrift verder dat de associatie van een relevante outgroup met antinormatief gedrag (van een outgrouplid) eveneens ten goede kan komen aan het relatieve aanzien van de groep. Wanneer twee groepen direct met elkaar worden vergeleken raakt het relatieve aanzien van beiden groepen, vergelijkbaar met de schalen van een balans, omgekeerd evenredig en direct aan elkaar gerelateerd: wanneer het aanzien van de ene groep stijgt, daalt dat van de andere groep en vice versa. Hierbij wordt het aanzien van een groep dus niet alleen beïnvloed door gedrag en eigenschappen van haar ingroupleden, maar ook –zij het op een meer indirecte manier- door gedrag en eigenschappen van outgroupleden. 'Slechte' (d.w.z., overtredende of anderszins antinormatieve) outgroupleden doen zo het outgroupgedeelte van de balans dalen waardoor het ingroupgedeelte stijgt. Dit gaat bij de ingroup gepaard met positief affect (Studies 3.1-3.3), wat in overeenstemming is met bestaand onderzoek naar leedvermaak en roddelen. Dergelijk onderzoek laat bovendien zien dat de behoefte om (leden van) een relevante outgroup te 'downgraden' zich vooral voordoet wanneer het relatieve aanzien -en daarmee de sociale identiteit- van de eigen groep in gevaar is. Op het moment dat een lage(re) status-ingroup dan ook exclusief beschikt over informatie waarmee de hoge(re) status van een outgroup in twijfel kan worden getrokken, kan zij hiermee haar voordeel doen. Door strategisch met deze informatie om te gaan (i.e., door zich als ingroup intern te beraden over een manier om de status quo openlijk aan de orde te stellen) kunnen de verhoudingen mogelijk in het voordeel van de ingroup worden bijgesteld, of zelf worden omgedraaid.

Groepen altijd en overal aanwezig. Mensen behoren immers tot verschillende (professionele) organisaties en afdelingen, (sport)teams, politieke kampen, landen, rassen en geloofsovertuigingen. De behoefte om, als groep, beter uit de verf te komen dan andere groepen is redelijk universeel; de theoretische inzichten uit dit proefschrift zijn daarmee in principe te vertalen naar allerhande praktische settings. Een mooi voorbeeld vormen politieke partijen: hun identiteit bestaat voor een groot deel bij de gratie van het onderscheid van andere politieke partijen. Omdat (publiek) imago van zeer groot belang is binnen de politiek, zijn de intergroepsverhoudingen dan ook vaak zeer competitief van aard. Het huidige proefschrift laat zien waarom prominente politici -zoals lijsttrekkers- niet alleen het bredere publiek dienen aan te spreken, maar ook typisch dienen te zijn voor hun partij. Ook biedt het onderzoek in dit proefschrift meer inzicht in het typisch politieke fenomeen van 'negative campaigning': door de

tegenstander zwart te maken kan indirect winst worden geboekt op eigen terrein. Omgekeerd zal de tegenstander ditzelfde proberen en is het dus van belang te zorgen dat partijleden (en dan met name de prominenten) binnen het eigen kamp niet in verband kunnen worden gebracht met normoverschrijdend gedrag.

De (competitieve) intergroepssituaties die in dit proefschrift aan de orde kwamen waren allemaal volledig 'zero-sum'. *Zero-sum* beschrijft een situatie waarin de winst van de ene partij gelijk is aan het verlies van de andere partij (en vice versa); *niet zero-sum* houdt in dat de winst (of het verlies) van de ene partij niet gerelateerd is aan het verlies (of de winst) van de andere partij. Het dient te worden opgemerkt dat, in instrumenteel opzicht, intergroepssituaties niet altijd zero-sum hoeven te zijn. Politieke partijen bijvoorbeeld, proberen zich gedurende de verkiezingsperiode nog sterk van elkaar te onderscheiden, terwijl ze tijdens de coalitievorming of binnen de oppositie juist overeenkomsten opzoeken. Daarnaast kan de (sociale) wereld op talloze manieren worden gecategoriseerd en kunnen mensen qua perceptie vrij makkelijk van de ene ingroup-outgroup categorisatie naar de andere schakelen. Hoewel mensen (en dan met name degenen die zich sterk met een bepaalde groep identificeren) vaak geneigd zijn het zero-sum karakter van een intergroepssetting te benadrukken, zijn groepen voor wat betreft hun aanzien niet altijd volledig wederzijds afhankelijk. De theoretische bevindingen die in dit proefschrift zijn beschreven kunnen daarom niet zonder meer gegeneraliseerd worden naar elke denkbare ingroup-outgroup situatie. Toekomstig onderzoek waarin verschillende intergroepssettings (variërend in de mate van wederzijdse afhankelijkheid en/of de aanwezigheid van alternatieve ingroup-outgroup categorisaties) worden betrokken, zou daarom een waardevolle toevoeging op het huidige onderzoek zijn. Toekomstig onderzoek zou zich verder kunnen richten op de vraag wat (leden van) lage(re) statusgroepen doen nadat zij elkaar op de hoogte hebben gebracht van een misstand binnen een hoge(re) status outgroup. Beraden zij zich inderdaad op mogelijke stappen om de status quo te veranderen, en in hoeverre spelen bijvoorbeeld de ernst van de overtreding en de stabiliteit en/of legitimiteit van het bestaande statusverschil hierbij een rol?

Hoewel er al veel bekend is over intergroepsverhoudingen, (de behoefte aan) intergroepsdifferentiatie en de invloed van ingroupleden op het relatieve aanzien van groepen, is er minder bekend over de invloed van outgroupleden op het onderscheidend vermogen van groepen. De studies die dit proefschrift zijn beschreven vormen een interessante eerste aanzet tot (meer) onderzoek op dit vlak. Omdat competitieve intergroepssettings altijd en overal te vinden zijn, zullen deze nieuwe theoretische inzichten vele alledaagse intergroepsfenomenen verder kunnen verklaren.

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Curriculum Vitae

Petra Hopman werd op 12 juli 1977 geboren te Hilversum alwaar zij, na basisschool het Kruispunt (1983-1989) te hebben doorlopen, in 1996 haar VWO-diploma behaalde aan het Comenius College. In 1997 begon zij met de studie sociale psychologie aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam; zij studeerde in 2002 af (cum laude). Eind 2003 kreeg Petra een aanstelling als AiO bij de afdeling Sociale Psychologie van de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. Het proefschrift dat u nu in handen heeft is het resultaat van dit promotieonderzoek. Na ongeveer een jaar als beleidsonderzoeker te hebben gewerkt bij Intomart GfK te Hilversum, is Petra sinds 2008 werkzaam als onderzoeker bij het NIVEL, het Nederlands Instituut voor Onderzoek van de Gezondheidszorg, te Utrecht.

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